1: Burrows--56 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 173 Ifalik

"Damm's account, based on Sarfert's visit, mentions a myth which attributes the first canoe to Seilangi. The only further detail is that he brought the art down to mankind on the island 'Modj', four days' journey south of Truk. Damm identifies this island with Modj (on our charts More) in the atoll Satawan in the Nomoi or Mortlock group. No point of origin was known to my informants."

"In beginning one of his greatest favors, to me, that of imparting the lore of navigation or 'talk for cap'n', Tom gave a sketchy genealogy of the gods of navigation. Aluluei is the oldest and the only one with any distinctive physical attributes. He has four eyes, two in his face like those of mortals, and two in the back of his head. With the eyes in the back of his head he can see any dangers that threaten the navigators under his care.

Aluluei has three brothers: Metseleilag
Teraolemetau
Farewai

He has also four sons: Paluelap
Farewai
Valur, later known as Sagol
Wĕriĕng

When asked about the name Farewai, which occurs both as that of a brother of Aluluei and as that of a son, Tom said that the son was a different Farewai. That may be the traditional version. Yet he did not seem to have this genealogy very clearly in mind, and may have made a mistake. If so, I probably made another in questioning him immediately. It may have put him on the defensive, in which case, he might try to justify what he had said rather than correct it. (In one of the myths, Farewai teaches weather lore to Longolap and LangorIk, whom Tom there called his 'nephews').

Paluelap, elder son of Aluluei, went to Ponape and took a wife there. Her name is no

longer remembered. They had two sons: Longolap
LongorIk
and a daughter, whose name also is no longer remembered. In fact one of the characteristics of this lore about a man's occupation is that none of the women mentioned in it have names."

1: Burrows--87-88 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 618 Ifalik

"The clans are not localized,--that is, most of them are represented in the population of all inhabited parts of the atoll. In fact, the same clans, or most of them, are found also on neighboring atolls. Woleai is said to have the same clans as Ifalik. I could not check this statement there, as we stopped at Woleai only on our way to Ifalik, before we knew the clan names. But a visiting chief from Woleai, hearing that the chiefs of Ifalik had given me their [88]legend about the settlement of both islands, asked that my account be read and translated to him. This legend (p. 151) gives names of traditional founders of all the clans. Thw Woleai chief was already familiar with most of them, and accepted without question the one or two which, he said, had been forgotten on Woleai. At Lamotrek, where we stopped on the return trip from Ifalik, I was given names of three clans; Sauvelārik, Mangaulevār, and Sauwēl. The names are the same as far as they go, and it is quite likely that the list is incomplete. On Elato, within sight of Lamotrek, the list given me was Kovalū, Savelārik, Mangaulevār, Kailangalualea, Sauwēl. Faraulep is also said to have the same clans, but the statement was not checked by inquiry there. The list obtained on Satawal was lost overboard, I recall one name in it which is evidently the same as an Ifalik name, though pronounced somewhat differently: Sauvelāchik. If memory can be trusted, there were one or two others; but certainly there were also some which had no apparent resemblance to Ifalik clan names. Satawal, then, seems to be on the border of distribution of these clans."

1: Burrows--98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 611 Ifalik

"Finally, there is a curious recognition of descent through males in the mythology. The two bits of divine genealogy collected--that of the high gods, and that of the gods of navigation--are both patrilineal."

1: Burrows--125 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 463, 173, 304, 152 Ifalik

"Additional payment to the experts in charge of a job consists mostly of the prestige that goes with authority. A rare instance of a more acquisitive attitude, involving insistence upon material payment, is the conclusion of the myth which tells of the divine origin of tattooing. After the god Wolfat had first taught a few men how to apply the designs, many applied to have their skins decorated. 'But Wolfat told them to put the designs only on those who gave them many fine presents,--cloths, rope, coconut trees, and whatever else they might desire.' Since the sole surviving master-tattooer of Ifalik, who told the tale, had long retired from practise, I could not suspect him individually of adding this as a profitable postscript. Presumably the conclusion was as traditional as the rest of the story. But it does seem to require avarice, which is unusual in Ifalik, of the practitioners of this craft."

1: Burrows--136-137 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 622 Ifalik

"Several points in this elaboration of rank--particularly the awe of ancestral chiefs shown in the respect for the old site at Katēlū, and the formalities about turtle--suggest the Polynesian complex of chieftainship. There, chiefs commonly traced their ancestry to gods,--indeed, the most influential gods, or some of them, seem to have been deified chiefly ancestors. And living chiefs were thought to embody some of this divinity. As for turtle, in more than one part of Polynesia it was offered to the paramount chief explicitly in his divine capacity.

It seems highly probable that the chieftainship complex of [137] Polynesia and that exemplified by Ifalik are historically related. But it is clear that in Ifalik, though native religion still flourishes, the respect shown to chiefs does not include attribution of divinity to them. The oracles of the gods are typically not chiefs. Chiefs do not trace their descent from the gods--in fact, divine genealogies are patrilineal, human ones matrilineal, and both very brief. Except in association with Katēlū, ghosts of chiefs seem no more important than any other ghosts. In sum, religion on Ifalik does not support government in this particular way. As to what process brought about this difference with Polynesia--whether chieftainship in Ifalik has fallen from a former high estate, or chieftainship in Polynesia has been elevated by local development--that could only be determined, if at all, by careful comparative study."

1: Burrows--151 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 173, 609 Ifalik

"It is already plain that government in Ifalik, during our stay there, was dominated by two factors: one, their own tradition; the other, the new influence of the United States. The latter was exercised through occasional visits of the Naval Government ship, and--mildly, involuntarily, yet steadily--by the two American anthropologists.

The previous chapter has given what was observed in the way of official action in foreign relations. An attempt to understand underlying attitudes, however, calls for examination of whatever other evidence can be found. One source of evidence is the legends collected on Ifalik,--to use 'legend' for the traditions that most resemble history, as distinguished from myths, with their supernatural setting, and tales told for entertainment. It happens that all the legends collected deal with relationships between the people of Ifalik and those of other islands.

This chapter will present these legends and attempt to interpret them. Each will be followed by some discussion of details, based mainly on comparison with versions recorded on Ifalik and neighboring islands by the German expedition. Some of this has little direct bearing on foreign relations, but at least it shows what parts of the legends are relatively constant in different versions; and how far the stories told in Ifalik during our stay agree with those from the other islands concerned. The whole series of legends will be followed by a more general interpretation, intended to bring out what they show about the attitudes of the people of Ifalik toward foreign countries. Finally, this will be supplemented by what can be learned from books and from informants

1: Burrows--151 -
116, 173, 609

(1947-48)

Woleaians - 2
Ifalik

about recent contact with foreigners."

1: Burrows--151-153 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-4
116, 173 Ifalik

"From time immemorial the people of Ifalik have acknowledged the rule of some outside power. Their traditions name as the earliest of these foreign overlords two lines of chiefs in Gagil district on Yap. One of their legends traces this relationship back to the first settlement of the island. What little ethnological comparison can be made here suggests other possibilities; but no such doubt seems to exist in native minds. The legend follows, as dictated to me by one of the five chiefs, in conference with the others. Tom acted as interpreter. In rewording his account, I have tried to keep as close to it as possible without too much violence to English idiom.

First Settlement of Ifalik

Long, long ago, a chief of Garpar (Gatschapar) village, in Gagil district, Yap, ordered some of his people to go out and colonize the outer islands to the east. He himself remained in Yap.

In charge of the expedition was a man named Tatar, who was accompanied by his sister, Iau. They went first to Mogmog on Ulithi; then to Wetegau (Utagal?) in Woleai, then to Ifalik and the other islands--Faraulep, Elato, Lamotrek, Satawal, and so on to Puluwat and Truk and 'all Caroline place.' The chain of command, ever since, is from Yap to Mogmog, from Mogmog to Wetegau, Wetegau to Ifalik, from Ifalik to the other islands. [152]

On Ifalik Tatar left one man and one woman from each of the eight clans. The two from each clan were brother and sister. Their names were:

From Kovalū clan: Maraige and his sister Lemaregara.

From SauvelārIk clan: Alovar and his sister Eilapikel.

From Mangaulevār clan: Trigabwa and his sister Ungusaren, sometimes known as Litamata.

From Rapevelū clan: Uelisogo and his sister Iau.

From Sauwĕl clan: Temou and his sister Narom.

From Bwĕl clan: Miatomwar and his sister Ilametoi.

From Kailangailuk clan: Uetiu and his sister Lemangeverau.

From Kailangaluelea clan: Marogerag and his sister Ilimĕng.

The descendants of these women, who married the men from other clans, make up the membership of the clans today.

The first men's house was built at Iramai, in the Ievang district of Falālap. No building stands there now, but the site is still remembered. It was used by Tatar, Alovar, and the other early settlers. Another early chief of Kovalū clan was Filitamol. Another early chief of SauvelārIk clan was Maur. In dictating this story, it was said that Maur used the men's house at Iramai. But in the story of the war with Woleai, Maur is associated with the men's house Katēlū on FalārIk.

This was the story of first settlement as dictated by the chiefs. Bits of information from various other sources support it in some details, differ in others. Tom himself made one change in the course of passing the story on to me; a very slight one, yet not insignificant. In his first version he named Ifalik before Woleai. This was later changed to conform to the order given as the chain of command. This seems to reflect an unresolved inconsistency about the relative rank of the two atolls. In the foregoing story, Woleai outranks Ifalik. In the account of the war with Woleai, to be given shortly, Ifalik outranks Woleai. Questioned about this, Tom said that the account of the war, giving Ifalik precedence over Woleai, is true; but that Wetegau in Woleai precedes Ifalik in the matter of relaying messages from the high chiefs in Yap. This could reconcile the two stories; yet it was my impression that in Tom's mind they remained unreconciled.

In one detail the story may seem self-contradictory. Iau is named both as sister of Tatar and as sister of Uelisoǵo. Asked about this, Tom said there were two women named Iau. Another possibility is that Tatar and Uelisogo were brothers. The name Ilimang or Ilimëng also occurs twice; once as the founder of the clan Kailangaluelea, once as the wife Maur took on Woleai.

Among the details in which other accounts vary are the names of the first settlers. In a brief account received from Fonachar in Yap, before we went to Ifalik, the name of the leader of the colonizing party was [153] recorded as Lipmerer. The only name at all like this in the story collected on Ifalik is Lemaregara (final 'a' silent), the woman of Kovalū clan. Sarfert names as the first settler Modj (recorded by me as Maur) said to have come on a raft with his wife Filitamol. My informants insisted that Maur was a later chief of SauvelårIk clan, and Filitamol a later chief of Kovalû clan. Sarfert has Ilamai as the name of the house where Modj and Filitamol first lived, while my informants used it as the name of the site of the first men's house."

1: Burrows--153 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 618 Ifalik

"The clans represented by the colonizers, as told to me, are the same as those found on Ifalik during our stay. They differ widely from Sarfert's list of clans. I would be inclined to reject Sarfert's list, whereever it differs from mine, except for one thing; that my informants admitted the former existence on Ifalik of one of the clans he named--Saupuluwat. The name suggests that this clan came from Puluwat rather than Yap. Sarfert also mentions later arrivals from Woleai and Faraulep; such a voyage from Puluwat might account for the presence of this clan. However, as already said in the discussion of social structure, several other clan names listed by Sarfert were, according to my informants, never represented on Ifalik.

Another kind of early arrival mentioned by Sarfert was 'very large devils in human form, so thorny that big fish were speared on their bodies. They swam to the island, but when they did not find any food, they went peacefully away again.' Though no such episode was told to me, I see no reason to question the existence of such a tradition, at least at the time of Sarfert's visit."

1: Burrows--153-154 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 173, 648 Ifalik

"Lieut. Carrol identified the Kovalū clan of Ifalik with one of two branches of the Yap clan called Fanif. According to a legend he collected on Yap, the two branches of this clan are descended from two sisters. One of them went overland from some unnamed starting point to Tomil district. The other was blown out to sea in a canoe. She came ashore at Onean in Gagil district, where her descendants constitute the Niarou branch of the clan, the one that is related to Ifalik's Kovalū. Similarly, Lieut. Carrol equated the Sauvelārik clan of Ifalik with the Ueloy clan of Yap. As for the six lower ranking clans of Ifalik, he had heard nothing about them on Yap, and inferred that, even if they originated on Yap, they must have reached Ifalik indirectly, after a sojourn somewhere else.

The traditional subordination to this line of chiefs in Yap has been maintained by fairly regular voyages both ways. Whether such voyages were made every year I could not make sure. Fonachar of Yap said that when the people of Ifalik came to Gatschapar, they would bring as tribute cloths, mat sails, mats, sennit rope, and coconut 'candy'. I could not make out what was meant by coconut candy. Hearing the story before we went to Ifalik, I supposed I would find out there. But nothing on Ifalik nowadays could very well be called coconut candy.

Fonachar said that the people of Yap would contribute to their visitors from the atolls turmeric, canoes made of the better wood available on high islands, mats, betel nuts, and food. Though thought of as a matter of tribute one way and largesse the other, these

1: Burrows--153-154 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 173, 648 Ifalik

mutual gifts amounted to an economic exchange. The atoll men would sometimes remain on Yap for considerable periods, and work for their overlord. One indication that the people of Ifalik did not always rejoice in this subordination is a bit of [154] sarcasm in an Ifalik song about a typhoon:

The people of Yap will be sorry to hear of this;
There will be nothing left for them to take."

"Conquest of Nearby Islands

In contrast to the acknowledged subordination to Yap is a series of legends that tell of conquest of the atolls nearest to Ifalik, extermination of the early inhabitants, and repopulation by colonists from Ifalik. These make Ifalik the mother country of all these atolls, as far as their present population is concerned. These legends follow, as told by the five chiefs, with Tom for interpreter.

Woleai

Maur, an ancient chief of SauvelārIk clan on Ifalik, went to Woleai, took there a wife named Ilimëng, and had by her a son, Legagilewaú. Some of the men of Woleai, jealous because of his winning the woman, attacked him, beat him about the head and body, and left him for dead.

In the night the woman Ilimëng went out of the house to urinate. She did not see the fallen body of Maur, and urinated on him. The urine so stung his wounds that he returned to consciousness.

Maur tied up his wounded head with a bit of rope. At daybreak he swam out on a piece of driftwood, spent the day at sea, and came in again at night. He slept in his house, and left again early in the morning. [155] He took a piece of coconut leaf and tied it about the wrist of his son, Legagilewaú.

Finally Maur went out through the pass on his bit of driftwood. One man saw him and cried out 'Maur is still alive!' But the Woleai people laughed. 'No, Maur is dead!' There was much talk about sending a canoe out to see, but they did not find him.

Maur swam on his driftwood all the way to Ifalik, and landed on the little uninhabited island of Ellā. A canoe went by and he hailed it. He told the boatman that he was Maur, and that the people of Woleai had tried to kill him.

The man went to the men's house, Katēlū, and spread the news. Another canoe was sent to Ellā to bring Maur to Katēlū. He summoned all the people.

When all the men of Ifalik were gathered together before him, he told them how the Woleai people had fallen upon him and left him for dead. 'I will not waste words', he said. 'I will take off my loin cloth, and if my penis points to Woleai, that will be a sign to you to go there and kill all the people.'

He took off his loin cloth, and his penis pointed to Woleai. 'Go kill all the people', he shouted, 'men, women, and children. Only spare the woman Ilimëng, and the boy who has a strip of coconut leaf tied around his wrist.'

The men of Ifalik went to work and made spears (kowai), many spears for each man. They went to Woleai in many canoes--two hundred, three hundred. In Woleai they went first to Falālap, then to Mariong, then to Traulap, then to Paleau, then to Raur. Everywhere they attacked the Woleai people and speared them--women, children, and all. But they spared the woman Ilimëng and the boy Legagilewau, who had the strip of coconut leaf tied about his wrist.

1: Burrows--154-157 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 173, 539 Ifalik

Next the Ifalik warriors went to Wetegau. All the people fled and swam over to Falālu̍s. Twice the Ifalik men tried to make a landing there, but twice they were turned back by the defenders.

Then the Ifalik people took a log, set up a coconut leaf on it like a sail, and shoved it out to sea from Wetegau. The Woleai people thought it was an Ifalik canoe setting out for home, and decided that all the Ifalik people had gone back.

Two Woleai canoes came back to Wetegau. The Ifalik men had hidden their canoes in the bush and covered them with leaves.

A Woleai man climbed a breadfruit tree, plucked a fruit, and said, 'The Ifalik men are very strong, but now they are gone. We won't be bothered with them any more.'

At this the Ifalik men came out of hiding, with a 'What's that you say? We'll see about that!' The Woleai men fled into the water, but were speared there. [156]

The Ifalik men caught the Woleai men during a bonito drive, attacked and killed them. Then they went on to Falālu̍s and killed the women and children, too.

The canoes returned to Ifalik, leaving only Ilimëng and her boy alive on Woleai. They had a great feast at home, and then assembled again at Katēlū.

Maur told them it would be too bad to have no people on Woleai. Then he sent people from Ifalik to settle in Woleai:

One man and his sister from the clan Kovalū
One man and his sister from the clan SauvelārIk

One man and his sister from the clan Mangaulevār
One man and his sister from the clan Rapevelū
One man and his sister from the clan Sauwēl
One man and his sister from the clan Bwēl
One man and his sister from the clan Kailangailuk
One man and his sister from the clan Kailanǵaluelea

Each of the men became a chief in Woleai. Little boys went too, with the women, their mothers. These people, with Maur's wife and son, repopulated Woleai.

So now when Ifalik men go to Woleai, there is no more fighting. It is as if the two islands were all one place. People from either island visit the other, do not have to ask for food, but live as if they were at home.

This version itself includes two accounts of how the Woleai men were killed, told one after the other with no attempt to reconcile them; one about an ambush on land, the other about a surprise attack during a bonito drive. The two could be reconciled, of course, by attributing one of them to one islet on Woleai, the other to another. But the incident of a surprise attack while the men were fishing appears also in two versions of the legend about Faraulep. One of them, told to me on Ifalik, will be given shortly (p. 160-1). The other was told on Faraulep to Hambruch, during the German expedition. The suggestion is that this incident may have been transferred from the legend about

Faraulep to that about Woleai.

A version of this legend recorded by Sarfert differs in several details from the one just given. The beginning is similar, except that the incident of the woman urinating on his unconscious body is not included. Nor are the names of the woman and the son she bore to Maur, there written as 'Modj'.

After the attack on him, Maur is said to have returned to Ifalik in his canoe instead of by swimming with a piece of driftwood. But in another of Sarfert's stories, which attributes to 'Modj' the first settlement of Ifalik, he is said to have come there with his wife on a raft.

The incident of Maur's penis pointing toward Woleai does not occur in Sarfert's version.

The order of islets on Woleai visited by the Ifalik expedition is the same in Sarfert's version and in mine, except that his list omits [157] two of those mentioned in the one told to me:

German Version, 1909	CIMA Version, 1947	Name on H. O. Chart
'Hauptinsel'	Falalap	Woleai (?)
----------	Mariong	Mariaon
----------	Traulap	Tagaulap
Bäliau	Paleau	Paliau

1: Burrows--154-157
116, 173, 539

(1947-48)

Woleaians-6
Ifalik

German Version, 1909	CIMA Version, 1947	Name on H.O. Chart
Raur	Raūr	Raur

Sarfert's version adds one detail not told to me: that the people of Ifalik, in moving from islet to islet on Woleai, first ate their unwilling hosts out of house and home, and did not close in for the kill until they had them weakened by starvation.

A final detail omitted in Sarfert's version is the list of clans (all of those now on Ifalik) represented in the later expedition that repopulated Woleai.

A third version was collected by Hambruch on Faraulep. It differs particularly in the beginning. The king of Ifalik, Mois, visits Woleai and there repeatedly rapes a woman while her husband is out fishing. This makes him the first agressor, and justifies the attack on him. He is beaten and left for dead. Toward morning he is revived, by rain. He takes a piece of timber from the bush and with it swims to Ifalik. The summons to war, with the incident of the penis pointing toward Woleai, agree with the version told to me. The ending follows, in my translation:

'Then the people made many spears, sailed to Woleai in countless canoes, and slew everyone, even the young girls.'

No mention is made of a son born to the Woleai woman. The list of islands, that of clans, and various other details, are omitted."

"Lamotrek

A similar legend about Lamotrek was dictated by the chiefs and translated by Tom. Here I have retained a few bits of his peculiar English.

Long, long ago, the people of Lamotrek used to kill the Ifalik people whenever a canoe from Ifalik put in there. One Ifalik canoe that went there had aboard, besides the crew of Ifalik men, one Tungă, a being in the form of a man but not human. The Lamotrek people killed all the Ifalik men but did not fight with Tungă.

In Ifalik, when the canoe did not return from Lamotrek, the people wondered what had become of it. Maur, their chief, summoned all the people to the men's house, Katĕlŭ. He ordered a canoe to be fitted out to go look for the lost vessel.

'Who among us shall go?' asked the Ifalik men. [158]

Maur said: 'Suppose one man 'e savvy captain, all right, go'.

So a man named Wĕtiei, a very savvy captain, built him a canoe, got together a crew, and sailed to Lamotrek.

'Where is that canoe from Ifalik that sailed here?'

The Lamotrek people said 'Canoe from Ifalik no stop here. He go to Truk.' That was a lie.

Wĕtiei went on to Truk to look for the Ifalik canoe. The Lamotrek people, in an attempt to cover up their lie, sent Tungā on to Truk in a Lamotrek canoe. When the Ifalik canoe got to Truk, the Lamotrek canoe was lying offshore but had left some of its men on Truk.

The Ifalik canoe beached at Truk, and the men came ashore and asked 'What about that Ifalik canoe that came here?' The Lamotrek men said 'We don't know anything about it.' That was a lie.

One of the Ifalik men saw a Lamotrek man take some food and put out to sea with it. The Lamotrek men had left Tungā as a captive aboard their canoe. So the Ifalik man said he was going to bathe in the sea. Once in, he swam out to the Lamotrek canoe and called out 'Any Ifalik men aboard?'

Tungā called back 'Yes! Me!'

So the Ifalik man swam up close, and said 'Don't say anything to the others. Tomorrow night our Ifalik canoe will come over close to this one. You dive overboard and swim over to us.'

This was done next night as planned, so Tungā was once more aboard an Ifalik canoe.

They asked him what had become of the men from the canoe that took him from Ifalik to Lamotrek. He told them the truth, that the Lamotrek people had killed them all.

So Wĕtiei's canoe went back to Ifalik. There Tungā told Maur his story. So Maur knew that the Lamotrek people had killed his men in the first canoe.

Maur called all the people together at the men's house, Katēlū. He told them to make ready, for they were going to make war on Lamotrek. So the Ifalik men went to work and fashioned spears--one man 20, another man 30, another man 40--and put them in canoes. Then they set sail for Lamotrek.

They came first to Elato, but the Elato people, when they saw the Ifalik canoe coming, were afraid, got into their canoes, and fled to Lamotrek. So when the Ifalik canoe came ashore, there was nobody there. They stopped in Elato three days. ('Want to chow.') Then on to Lamotrek.

At Lamotrek one big island is inhabited, two small ones uninhabited. The Ifalik invaders landed on the two small islands. One day they attempted a landing on the main island, but were repulsed. Twice they tried, and twice they failed. The Lamotrek people were too strong.

A great warrior of Ifalik, named Mailias, had been visiting on Woleai at the time the Ifalik fleet set out for Lamotrek. He came back to find all the Ifalik canoes gone. [159]

'Where are all the men?' he asked.

He was told they had gone to avenge the death of the Ifalik canoemen at Lamotrek. So he got in his canoe and followed them. Arrived at Lamotrek, he asked for a report on the situation. He was told how things stood--that two landings had been attempted, but both had failed.

'Leave it to me', said Mailias. He told the men to gather bundles of dried banana leaf and put them in the canoes. They filled their canoes with leaves, then, in mid-afternoon, shoved off once more to assault the main island. It was mid-afternoon, and the wind was at their backs, from the west.

The Ifalik forces divided into two parties. One of them made the same kind of frontal attack as before. But when they came near shore, they set fire to their bundles of leaves. A great cloud of smoke arose. The wind carried it ashore, and blinded the Lamotrek warriors.

Under cover of this attack, the other party from Ifalik went around to the other side of the island, and landed there.

The Lamotrek men fought bravely against the party that had landed behind a smoke screen. But they were at such a disadvantage, with the smoke in their eyes, that they were driven back, and at last fled into the bush. Here the other Ifalik party was lying in wait. They fell upon the demoralized defenders and killed every last one of them; then went on into the houses, killing, killing, until not a man, woman or child was left alive in Lamotrek.

So the fleet returned to Ifalik, and repeated to Maur that Lamotrek had been depopulated, and the slaughter of the Ifalik canoemen avenged.

First the returning warriors were welcomed with a big feast. Then Maur assembled them at the men's house, Katĕlū. He told them it would not be good for Lamotrek to remain without people. He ordered each clan to send one man and his sister. All these could take their families along if they cared to.

So Lamotrēk was laid waste and then repopulated from Ifalik. Ever since, it has been as if Lamotrek and Ifalik were all one place. In Ifalik, Lamotrek people are just the same as Ifalik people. In Lamotrek, Ifalik people are given food without having to ask for it. They all belong to the same clans.

So that is the story of how 'Ifalik man, he kill Lamotrek man. Ifalik more high.'

A short song or remnant of a song commemorates this battle. For all its brevity, it is noteworthy as the only one among the 228 song texts collected which deals with legendary (as distinguished from mythical) material; and the only one which deals with war. Although this may be accidental, it seems to suggest the importance of this particular legend. The chiefs dictated the text, and Tom translated it. This translation, edited into smoother English, follows: [160]

Coming up from behind on the fugitives
As they fled from the lagoon shore,
We will close in from both sides
At the Pu-el-Ifalū.

Pu-el-Ifalū is said to be the name of a place in the interior of Lamotrek, where the two parties of Ifalik men closed in on the defenders of Lamotrek and finished them off. (It did not occur to me at the time to ask whether Pu-el-Ifalū would be in ordinary language Bwël Ifalo̍k, Ifalik taro swamp.)

The German monograph on Lamotrek contains no legend like this--indeed, no legends at all, though it has several myths.

During my few hours on shore at Lamotrek I asked about this story, expecting a denial or variant version. But they confirmed it. Although, lacking an interpreter, I did not manage to check all details, they agreed that Mailias was leader of the invading party, and added that he was of Kovalū clan."

1: Burrows--160-162
116, 173

(1947-48)

Woleaians 4-7
Ifalik

"Faraulep

Faraulep, too, was repopulated from Ifalik. In this case, though, according to the Ifalik legend, it was not necessary for Ifalik warriors to invade the island and massacre the inhabitants. They had attended to that themselves, and Ifalik men had only to kill a lone survivor.

There are two inhabited islands at Faraulep, and one uninhabited. At one time, there were no people left on the whole atoll. If asked why that was, a Faraulep man will say that men from another island came fighting, and killed the Faraulep people. That is a lie.

What really happened is this. One night a party from one of the inhabited islands at Faraulep went out to fish with torches. The men from the other island made a surprise attack upon them and killed them. They went back home thinking they had killed all the people of the other [161] island.

But one man remained, a man named Nagelimwara. He had hidden himself under a fishing net, and so escaped. When the invaders had gone, he came out again. There were no more people. So he took a small canoe and went out fishing. He found plenty of fish on top of a coral head that extended up into shallow water.

Then he went back to the island still inhabited, and told the chief he had better send out men to catch the plentiful fish he had found. He would show them the place. So all the men went out with him.

When they got to the place where the coral head stuck up into shallow water, they saw that the fish were indeed plentiful. Nagelimwara told them all to jump overboard to catch them. So everybody went overboard except himself. He had a short stick with him. Every head that showed above the surface he would hit with his stick. Thus he killed all the men from that island, except the chief, who had remained behind.

Then Nagelimwara took some fish, and went ashore. He called to the chief to come get his share. The chief came, and when he had taken some fish, Nagelimwara hit him with his stick and killed him. Then he went on into the houses and killed the women and the boys and the girls.

So it was the Faraulep people themselves who put an end to the population on that island. 'All Faraulep men 'e fight.'

In the course of time a canoe from Ifalik visited the island, and found that there were no more people there except the one man. The Ifalik men killed him. Then they went back to Ifalik to get some Ifalik people and put them on Faraulep, and repopulate the island, as they had done with the others. So they sent women and men from every clan. And ever since then, a Faraulep man has been all the same as an Ifalik man.

After finishing this tale, Tom raised his face and eyes skyward, to indicate an immense lapse of time, and said

'Be - fore, be - fore. Not now.'

After a few minutes, he repeated this, adding 'Ifalik man not kill 'im that Faraulep man.' There were two canoe-loads of men from Faraulep visiting on Ifalik at the time. Evidently Tom wanted to forestall any worry on my part about the Ifalik people killing them, by relegating all such unpleasantness to the remote past.

Warfare, indeed, seems to have gone out of mind to some extent since the German expedition of 1909. Sarfert collected barbed spears and clubs with points or little blades at both ends. We saw nothing of the kind.

Tom need not have troubled to deny in advance a supposed Faraulep version attributing the massacre of the earlier population there to invaders from afar (presumably from Ifalik). At least Hambruch collected on Faraulep in 1909 a story about depopulation by civil war and repopulation from Ifalik, in essentials like the one just given, but with a number of additional details. The man whose name I recorded as Nagelimwara (final 'a' silent) is there called Nargetumar. He lived on 'Pix', evidently the islet called 'Pigue' on our charts (apparently from a French version.) I heard it as 'Pik', and the Japanese call it 'Piiku'. [162]

Hambruch's version begins as follows: During a visit on the neighboring islet called (like the whole atoll) Faraulep, Nargetumar insulted the people, then on his return to 'Pix' warned the people there of an impending attack from Faraulep. The men of both islets made spears. Those of Pix were the first to attack, invading Faraulep while the men were out fishing; killing women and children first, then the men--except for a few as they came ashore from their fishing.

1: Burrows--160-162 (1947-48) Woleaians-4
116, 173 Ifalik

The next incident in Hambruch's Faraulep version is lacking from my Ifalik one. The survivors on Faraulep are said to have asked a visiting Yap man to help them against Pix. He agree, and by magic raised a typhoon, which indeed destroyed all but 20 people on Pix, but on Faraulep killed all but one. This one, named Uerlipar, killed the survivors on Faraulep by the ruse of offering them fish, as in the Ifalik version. Then he went to Woleai, married a woman there, and at last returned to Faraulep. By that time people from Ifalik had taken over Faraulep, so Uerlipar went back to Pix and stayed there."

1: Burrows--162 (1947-48) Wolesians
116, 173 Ifalik

"Eaurupik

By these three legends, the people of Woleai, Lamotrek, and Faraulep were accounted for as descendents [sic] of colonizers from Ifalik. Of the islands nearest to Ifalik, there remained only Eaurupik. I asked Tom if there was a legend about that.

'Eaurupik too', he replied. 'All same size' (a favorite expression of his for 'just the same'.) Ifalik more high.' But no further details were forthcoming."

1: Burrows--162-163 (1947-48) Woleaians/-2
116, 173 Ifalik

"Interpretation

What these legends do, obviously, is to affirm and reinforce the sentiment of rank. The fact that the natives feel this to be the main point of the stories is plain in Tom's triumphant conclusion to the one about Lamotrek. He repeated this phrase in saying that the same was true of Eaurupik. 'Ifalik more high.' This significance is emphasized again by the penis of Maur, carved on the front post of the men's house and constituting a climax to the symbolism of rank that clusters about the site Katēlū. The same emphasis appears once more in the exultant little song about Lamotrek.

This general effect of the legends works out more specifically in two functions, one of them social, the other psychological. The social function is to strengthen the institution of government by validating the principle of rank on which the Ifalik system of government is based. The psychological function is to meet the human want of prestige by giving everyone in Ifalik the satisfaction of feeling himself superior to the people of surrounding atolls. This craving for prestige is sharpened among the people of Ifalik by their traditional subordination to the chiefs of Gatschapar in Yap. The legends help them to work off the sting of this by superordination over somebody else.

Within this general framework, still more specific use is made of two of the legends, those telling of the conquest of Woleai and Lamotrek. These supply an origin and validation for the high status of the two chiefs at the top of the local hierarchy of rank. Mailias, [163] it is said, was the first to receive the title of Kovalū, or paramount chief,

1: Burrows--162-163 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 173 Ifalik

because of the military ability he showed in planning the attack on Lamotrek, with its smoke screen and ambush. Ever after, succession to the highest chieftainship has remained in his clan, which has taken its name, Kovalū, from his title. Similarly, Maur became second-ranking chief because he instigated the successful attack on Woleai.

In general, Maur is a more prominent traditional figure than Mailias. He is celebrated, not only in the Woleai legend, but in the carving on the front post of the men's house, and in another tale or myth which ascribes to him the invention of the torch and dip-net technique of catching flying-fish (p. 83J-K). In the stories collected by Sarfert, Maur was even named as the first settler of the island. In spite of Maur's prominence, the title descending from Mailias outranks that descending from Maur. Tom explained why. Mailias won glory as a warrior, Maur as an orator, and prowess in war is greater than prowess in talk."

1: Burrows-173A
116, 776, 173

(1947-48)

Woleaians 1-3
Ifalik

"Fig. 22. - GENEALOGY OF THE GREAT GODS

Names in parentheses and relationships shown by dotted lines were not recorded in 1947-8, but only by the German expedition of 1909. Capitalized names were recorded by both German and American expeditions. Names without parentheses or capitalization were recorded only by the American ethnographers in 1947-8. Names of female beings are underlined.

1: Burrows--173A
116, 776, 173

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

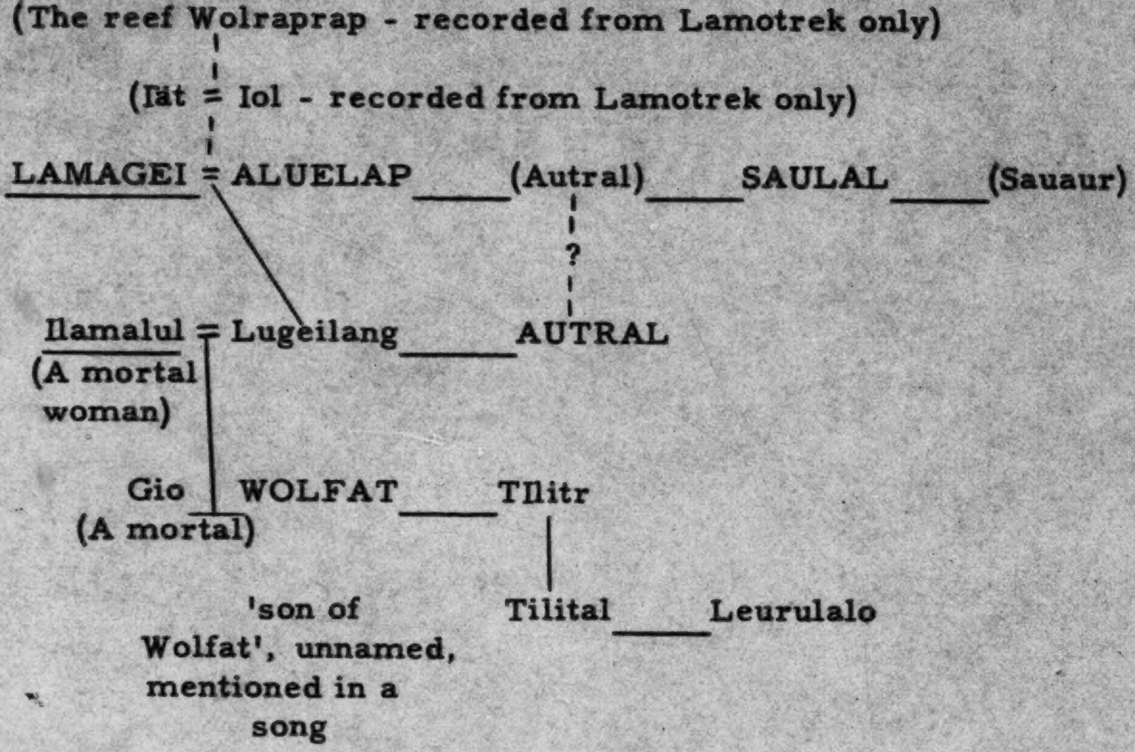
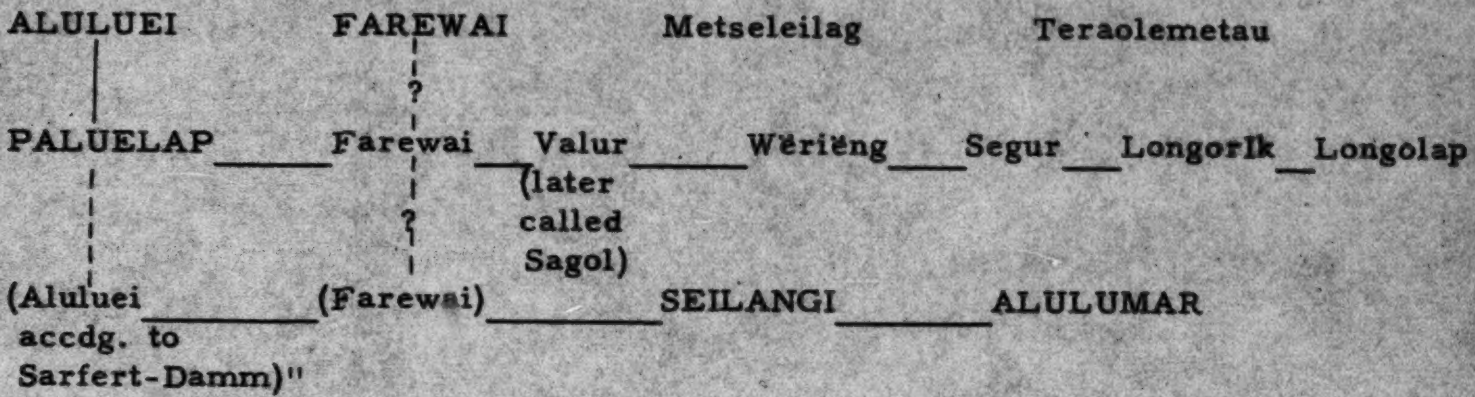

(The reef Wolraprap - recorded from Lamotrek only)
(Iät = Iol - recorded from Lamotrek only)
LAMAGEI = ALUELAP
(Autral)
SAULAL
(Sauaur)
?
Ilamalul = Lugeilang
(A mortal woman)
AUTRAL
Gio (A mortal)
WOLFAT
Tllitr
'son of Wolfat', unnamed, mentioned in a song
Tilital
Leurulalo

Fig. 23. - GENEALOGY OF THE GODS OF NAVIGATION

Parentheses and capitals are used as in Fig. 22. No names are underlined, as there are no females in this genealogy.


ALULUEI
FAREWAI
Metseleilag
Teraolemetau
?
PALUELAP
Farewai
Valur (later called Sagol)
Wĕriĕng
Segur
Longorlk
Longolap
?
(Aluluei accdg. to Sarfert-Damm)"
(Farewai)
SEILANGI
ALULUMAR

"A list of the supernatural beings whose names were collected, with a summary of what is known about them, follows:

Major Gods

Aluelap - Forefather of the major gods. Human in form, but of immense size. Lives usually in his house Fatremal, in the southern sky (Sarfert-Damm say in the zenith). Has another house, Langilimware, in the northern sky. A third house of his, Mwauliare, is mentioned in a dance-song said to have come from Eaurupik. On Ifalik, the homestead Weluara on Falālap is said to be his (though also used as a human dwelling); and one of the four rods in the shrine at one end of the house is the place where offerings are left for him.

Aluelap established the tabus, except those governing sexual conduct (see Autran, below). Though he alone is omniscient, he sleeps most of the time. Formerly his eyes were always closed. His daughter-in-law Lamanu used to massage his arms and bathe him.

One day he asked her, 'Who are you?'

'Lamanu.'

'Alas, I can not see you!'

Aluelap was determined to see. He called to his son, Lugeilang, 'Come, open my eyes, that I may see your wife, and the land, and the people!'

Lugeilang told the people what his father wished.

They cut down a coconut tree and, using the log for a lever, pried [174] Aluelap's eyelids apart. Still he could not see, for all sorts of foreign objects had lodged in his eyes. At last a man took a paddle and knocked them all out.

Aluelap was overjoyed. 'Oh, I see land! I see people!'

When Aluelap had gazed his fill, he went to sleep again. To this day, he sleeps most of the time. Yet, being omniscient he knows when any evil spirit comes ashore on Ifalik. Then he sends a lesser god, one of his descendants, to drive the demon away. Sarfert was told that Lugeilang was sent on these errands. The people of Ifalik today say it is Lugeilang's son TIlItr, with TIlItr's son TIlItal.

Aluelap is also awakened when any question comes up that none of the other gods can answer. His son pries his lids open and asks the question. He answers it, then falls asleep again.

Lamagei - Wife of Aluelap. No further details.

Saulal - lord of the underworld. According to the creation myth recorded by the Germans on Lamotrek, a son of Iat and Iol, hence a brother of Aluelap. According to Sarfert-Damm on Ifalik, has no parents or other relatives, but was the creator of the universe. His body, according to the same source, is half man, half lawud (some sea creature; Tom's attempt at explanation suggested a surgeonfish). Inhabits a large house in the underworld called Falisat. All that was told me on Ifalik is that he rules the underworld and the supernatural beings that live there.

Autran - a goddess; according to Sarfert-Damm, sister of Aluelap; according to the geneology given by Tom, a daughter of Aluelap. (The Sarfert-Damm version may well be more authentic, as the chiefs of 1947 seemed to know little about her.) Sarfert's informants of 1909 said that she was the ruler of earth and, though never married, the mother of all mankind. According to the same source, her house, named Lamolu, is in Garpar (Gatschapar) in Yap; and the chiefs of Garpar, in collecting tribute on Yap, are acting as her agents.

Autran established the tabu against sexual relations within the clan.

Lugeilang (or **Lugweilang**) - Son of Aluelap and Lemagei. When he was born, Aluelap assembled all the sky-dwellers to suggest names for his son.

A large star, Visitrax (apparently our Venus) said 'Let him be called Dung!'

'What!' cried Aluelap indignantly. 'My son called Dung!'

Other names were suggested by the fela fish and by the crab, but they did not please Aluelap.

Finally the star Mailap suggested the name Lugeilang.

'What does that mean?' asked Aluelap.

'It means 'He who lives in the sky' , the star replied.

Aluelap was greatly pleased. 'Yes,' he said. 'Let that be his [175] name.'

As a punishment for suggesting a name that means filth, it was ordained that the star Visitrax should have no fixed abode. Always it must travel. During one season it lives in the east, during the other in the west. Thus, in the trade-wind season, when Visitrax shines in the east, people have light after sunset to defecate by.

Lugeilang descended to earth and married a mortal woman. She bore him first a mortal son, Gio; then the god, Wolfat. He still descends to earth from time to time, Sarfert was told, to supervise men and their activities. If they are idle, he reports to Aluelap, who sends wind and rain, and to Saulal, who stirs up the sea into great waves. Typhoons, therefore, are punishment for men's laziness; and their severity is in proportion to the misbehavior.

Lugeilang is credited by Sarfert-Damm with teaching mankind the art of tattooing. For the account given in 1947, see below under Wolfat.

(**Lamanu** or **Ilaamalul** - human wife of Lugeilang, does not properly belong in the list of gods. What was told of her and her mortal son, Gio, appears under Aluelap, Lugeilang, and Wolfat.)

Wolfat - Second son of Lugeilang and his human wife, Lamanu. According to Sarfert-

Damm, he was born on earth while his father, summoned by Aluelap to help repair the house Fatremal, was revisiting the sky. To judge by the number of tales told of him, Wolfat is the most prominent figure in the mythology of Ifalik. Sarfert collected several of these tales, and in 1947 Spiro collected similar versions of these and some others, forming a little cycle of ten apparently distinct tales. Wolfat also figures in the favorite myth of Galét, of which three versions were collected, and in the story told in 1947 of the origin of tattooing.

Lugeilang and Lamanu feared that if Wolfat knew he had a human elder brother, he would kill him. So they concealed Gio in the underseas world of Saulal. One of the stories tells how Wolfat learned of his brother's existence, waylaid him and killed him. One of the motifs that recurs in the tales is that Wolfat himself can not be killed, even with a gun.

In several tales Wolfat's role is that of a trickster. He delights in taking on all sorts of fantastic forms, in order to deceive those sent to look for him. In other tales, which verge on fables because a moral is implied in them, Wolfat takes the form of a small boy and asks groups of boys whom he meets to share their playthings with him. All but one refuse. He punishes all but the single generous one. This incident forms a theme with variations, the variations consisting mainly in different playthings and different punishments. The moral suggested is 'Be kind and generous to strangers'; but it is not explicitly stated.

In a tale told to me, Wolfat is credited with inventing tattooing, and teaching the art to mortals. He first tattooed himself in the sky, then came down to earth to visit a mortal sweetheart. By the light of the fire in her house, other women saw the beautiful decoration, and asked Wolfat's sweetheart to persuade him to teach their lovers how to beautify themselves in this way. This myth, which will be given more fully in the study of native arts, forms a charter for this institutionalized form of art.

With this exception (and this is attributed by Sarfert-Damm to Lugeilang), Wolfat remains a rather remote mythological figure, in spite of the compara-
[176] tively rich lore clustered about him. He is not credited with any continuing relationship with mankind; nor is he invoked in any of the religious dance songs or incantations.

TIlItr - this son of Lugeiland and brother of Wolfat might be called the patron deity of Ifalik. It is he who is sent down to the atoll by Aluelap to drive off evil spirits, give instructions about curing disease, find and bring to port canoes blown off their courses, and teach mankind the songs by which he and his heavenly relatives can be properly invoked. This he does either by answering the questions addressed to him by favored human beings, or by taking possession of them and speaking or singing with their voices.

TIlItr's house, Ngiligejáp, is in the part of the sky called Lengilialo or

1: Burrows--173-179 (1947-48) Woleaians-7
116, 776, 173 Ifalik

Langiliol. He and his son and sister listed below, are not mentioned in any of the religious dance songs, except the one used in invoking him. Some healing incantations collected by Spiro from Gargeligar, TIlItr's oracle during our stay on the atoll, also call on him by name.

The scarcity of lore about this god suggests that he may have been invented - or, as a believer might say, born - in comparatively recent times. Gargeligar, with the confirmation of others present when I interviewed him, said that the first parts of the invocation were known before his time, though TIlItr first sang the last parts through his mouth. The god is named in the third line of the invocation, which (in my rewording of Tom's translation) begins:

> Night - it is night now.
> Tomorrow, when daylight dawns,
> The god TIlItr will speak to us all.

Recent though this god may be, then, Gargeligar seems at least not the first to be possessed by him. An old man, Orgalebwā, who lived in the homestead Weluāra, known as the house of the great gods, was possessed by a god at the time we witnessed the ceremony which includes this invocation. I understand at the time that the god was Aluelap, but this is contrary to the account later given of Aluelap's remaining in the sky and sending other gods to earth. So Orgalebwā may have been possessed by TIlItr as Aluelap's representative.

1: Burrows--173-179 (1947-48) Woleaians-8
116, 776, 173 Ifalik

TIlItal or **TIlIlalo** - son of TIlItr, mentioned in the invocation as descending to earth with his father and helping to supervise and protect the people.

Leurulalo - sister of TIlItr, mentioned in the invocation as interceding for the people.

Gods of Navigation

Aluluei - master of the lore of seamanship. His role in bringing it to Ifalik is recounted in the myths given in the chapter on Navigation. Said to have lived on Bwennap which, in spite of the underground extension attributed to it, seems to be identifiable with the earthly island Pulap. Other homes of his are (Sarfert-Damm) Piemal, far south of Ifalik; and Pie li Eluluei or Sand of Aluluei.

Paluelap - according to Sarfert-Damm, a son of Aluelap and father of Aluluei. According to Tom's genealogy of the gods of navigation, one of the sons of Aluluei. Figures in the myths of seamanship and is invoked in a ritual to be described later. The name means 'great navigator'. [177]

Farewai - divine weather forecaster. His genealogical position uncertain; there may be two gods of this name. The genealogy given by Tom makes him a brother of Aluluei, as does that of Sarfert-Damm. The same name appears also in Tom's genealogy as a son of Aluluei. This is another Farewai, Tom explained.

Metseleilag - Named in Tom's genealogy, without further details, as brothers of
Teraolemetau - Aluluei.

1: Burrows--173-179
116, 776, 173

(1947-48)

Woleaians-9
Ifalik

Valūr - who changed his name to Sagōl - god of the fish who guide navigators. One of the sons of Aluluei. One of the myths about the lore of seamanship tells how he changed his name, after foiling the attempt of his brother Wĕriĕng to kill him.

Wĕriĕng - god of the sea-birds who guide navigators. Another son of Aluluei. Tried to kill his brother Valūr, who had been carring [sic] on an adulterous affair with Wĕriĕng's wife.

Segur - another son of Aluluei. Associated with the other gods of navigation, but without any exclusive powers, so far as known.

Longolap -
LongorIk - sons of Aluluei. In the myth of the lore of seamanship, LongorIk, the younger son, learned the lore thoroughly; but the uxorious Longolap, distracted by his wife, only learned a little bit, with disastrous results.

Ilekerĕp - god of the sea-lanes. Invoked in a navigator's prayer for guidance.

Sauta - invoked in a navigator's prayer for enlightenment.

Iolau - classed with the gods of navigation; but the only specific activity recorded of him is that he makes people sick if they eat wot taro without mashing it, or eat any of his six kinds of fish without first singing the proper song over them, to win his approval.

Loulemwau - god of the canoe. Invoked in a navigator's prayer or incantation to lighten the vessel so that it will stay afloat.

Seimeligarara - a god of canoe building. His building of the first popo canoe told in the myth of Galét.

SemerIk - a god of canoe-building. Not placed genealogically. Invoked in a shipwright's prayer.

Seilangi - another god of shipbuilding, coupled with SemerIk in the shipwright's prayer. According to Sarfert-Damm, a brother of Aluluei. Not named in Tom's genealogy.

Seliwang - (Possibly a variant form of Seilangi.) These two are invoked in a song, to
Tibweau - help repair a canoe-hull which has come apart at sea, by fitting a rope sling about it.

Alulumar - god of house-carpenters. Here grouped with the gods of navigation because mentioned by Sarfert-Damm as one of the sons of Paluelap. Not named in the genealogy given by Tom.

Lauliar - In ordinary speech, this is the name for rainbow. On Ifalik rainbows are thought to bring bad weather. Sarfert-Damm give this as the name of an anthropomorphic spirit who brings storms and destroys canoes at sea unless propitiated [178] by the proper prayer or incantation. Even this will not avail if the people, by their misconduct, have offended Aluelap.

This divinity is of a kind rather rare on Ifalik, being apparently a personification of a natural phenomenon. The only others recorded are Mesilipik, discussed below, and the two stars who suggested names for the son of Aluelap.

Sarfert-Damm relate that Lauliār came ashore on a driftwood log while a woman named Illegieri was bathing her little boy, Illepanigi. Lauliār seized the child and held it until the woman consented to be his wife. When the boy grew up, Lauliar taught him the invocation by which he can be propitiated, then returned to the sky. A different version, with a shift of name, follows.

Ilepanigi - According to a more detailed story told to Spiro, this is the name of the rainbow spirit who came ashore on a driftwood log, seized a boy (in this version named Sirō or hog) and married his mother (in this version named Meri). This tale is given on p. ____.

Alulevalū or Alús falū (literally, god of the land or island) - chief of the spirits who live ashore, in the trees, and inflict disease on those who disobey the chiefs or shirk communal labor.

Gol - a spirit who causes death.

Sauteti -
Saurek - Named in the invocation to TIlItr as evil spirits, whose arrival on Ifalik is occasion for summoning TIlItr to drive them off. The harm they do is apparently the usual one of bringing sickness.

Saiol - a sea-spirit who inflicts sea-sickness. Among the healing incantations given by

Gargeligar to Spiro is one for exorcising him.

Alumaseragu - mentioned in a song as making love to a mortal woman; in comment on the song, characterized as an evil spirit.

Rangwau - (literally, snatch-quick) - waylays ghosts on their way to the sky, throws them into the lake Rourou to drown.

Alusiwautas - It is not certain whether this is the name of a specific evil spirit, or a generic term for a class of them. 'Comes on top' of people, - that is, takes possession of them. Insanity is explained as possession by such a spirit.

Some Lesser Supernaturals

Totolu - a sky god who puts medicine, made by men, into coconuts, for the use of pregnant women.

Malemelel - invoked in a prayer or incantation to cure sickness of the head.

Legawo (same as Legobwu?) One of the little shrines beside houses, on Falālap, was said to be for this god. The similar name Legobwu occurs in a song, and was explained as that of a god who formerly brought to favored people whatever they desired. In discussing this song, Tom said that this god is no longer active.

Mesilipik - this being, who according to Gargeligar is not regarded as an alus, seems to be a personification of cold. He lives in the seas between the islands, and

[179] comes on the wind, bringing certain diseases: chills, fever, red spots on the body, blood in the feces.

Some Foreign Supernaturals Known on Ifalik

Uapei - the rainbow spirit of Faraulep, invoked in the súr perou dance performed in Ifalik by the men of FalarIk district, but said to have originated on Faraulep. Uapei comes on the rainbow to rescue mariners lost at sea. The people of Ifalik seem not to take this divinity seriously.

Metileru - a sea-demon of Faraulep. According to the FalarIk súr perou dance song, he comes from afar when the wind is in the east, snatches the souls of sick people from their bodies and carried them off in his canoe of flame.

Tagi - invoked in the FalarIk (originally Faraulep) súr perou to heal the sick by rescuing their souls from the canoe of Metileru.

Mwarisepa or Morisepa - said to be the ghost of a boy who died at sea; presumably a boy of Ulithi, for he is invoked in a series of songs attributed to that island. The songs are called by the same name, gapengpeng, as those used to invoke TIlItr on Ifalik; if there is an accompanying dance, it is not performed on Ifalik so far as known. This spirit helps mariners lost at sea; but people of Ifalik seem to have no active faith in him.

Ligeworlealeal - apparently a god of Ulithi, mentioned in a song attributed to that atoll.

1: Burrows--173-179 (1947-48) Woleaians-14
116, 776, 173 Ifalik

Urumwaretr - a god of Woleai, mentioned in a song said to have originated there.
Ilamware - gods of Eaurupik, mentioned in the laūra stick dance, attributed to that island
Rangunengi - Ilamware is a female, mother of the other two.
Rangúle -
Malesaro - another god mentioned in the laũra.

The foregoing list is far from exhaustive. A number of mythological characters, like Galét and his associates, are described as living in the sky and associating with gods. Galet and his wife walked on the waves. They have not been listed here because no relations with mankind are attributed to them. Some characters in other tales have supernatural attributes; notably Tungã in the legend about Lamotrek, who was described by Tom as 'all same man, no man.' But no superhuman deeds are attributed to him."

1: Burrows--196
173, 198

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"One of the most prominent pieces of religious equipment of Ifalik today is obviously recent - a U.S. Navy boatswain's whistle (or, ashore in the United States, a policeman's whistle). Its shrill sound, with a rattle or trill in it because the flow of air is interrupted by a pellet, closely resembles the vocal sound supposed to be the call of a god. Without a whistle, this sound is produced by a prolonged falsetto cry, trilled with the tip of the tongue as in 'rolling an R.' Apparently this vocal symbol is ancient in the culture: in the myth about the lore of seamanship, when the god Seilangi appeared to LangorIk in the form of a bird, he uttered this cry. (Tom, in telling the story, gave a demonstration.) The close resemblance of this call to the sound of a boatswain's whistle made that artifact fit readily into the native culture, but with a meaning very different from what it carries when blown by a Navy boatswain or a traffic policeman. In Linton's terminology, this is a little case of diffusion accelerated by congruity, and accompanied by a change in role and meaning."

2: Damm et al. --17 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
173 Ifaluk

Tattooing was probably borrowed from Mogemog. But the natives believe that mankind learned about it through Lugeilăń, a heavenly being, who is tattooed himself. They do not know from whom he acquired the art, but they assume that it was from Ăluelŏb, the highest god of all. When Lugeilăń wanted a wife, he went down to earth, and at this time men saw the strange decoration, and learned the various patterns.

2: Damm et al. --52-55 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2
116, 396, 173 Ifaluk

The natives trace their knowledge of boat building back to a mythological origin. Sēlăni constructed the first canoe; he brought this art to the men on Mŏdj Island, which lies a four days journey south from Truk. It is not known who taught the people of Ifaluk how to make canoes. The first settlers of Ifaluk were a man named Mṓdj and his wife, and they came to their new homeland on a raft. But soon after that time, and even while Mṓdj was living, canoes were constructed.

The canoes are made out of bread-fruit wood. First the trees are felled with shell axes, and in this task the brothers and sons of the builder assist him. The king must give his permission for the construction of a large sailing canoe. No particular tabus are attached to this work. Other men help drag the trunks to the canoe house. All the workers sing in rhythm, so that the pulling will be in unison and most effective. [AN: for native text of this work song see source pp. 52 and 54] [54]

...the various planks of the boat are carefully joined together and bound tightly. The joints of the planks are caulked with pieces (bále) of coconut husk fiber (bējénne), which are mixed with bread-fruit resin (wílis). Then the holes for the binding are smeared with a mixture of burned coconut fibers and burned coral stone (fáu), which has been crushed. Drawing 147 shows how the planks are painted with red soil from Yap and black coloring, which comes from coconut hulls, that have been burned and then stirred in salt water.

2: Damm et al. --52-55 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-2
116, 396, 173 Ifaluk

During the canoe building there are four bắṅewắṅ conjurations, and these are always when the lines are drawn in the customary manner. On these days all the workers are tapu. Then, when the boat is finished, there is another conjuration, and a trial trip; while this is going on the men sing a certain song. [55] Coconuts are placed beside the boat during these magic spells; there are always two or more, but never three, five or seven. The size of this sacrifice depends entirely upon the quantity of nuts available.

2: Damm et al.--56-58
116, 173, 342

(1909) 1938

Woleaians-1-2
Ifaluk

According to legend, Mődj brought the art of house-building from Yap; it is not known who taught it to the inhabitants of that island.

1. The house design.

The frequent typhoons have often destroyed the houses; during the last one only four dwelling houses escaped, (3 on Feladjik, 1 on Fafalap). Then they were not rebuilt with the same care, which had been used before. Formerly there were more houses than there are today, and they were also larger; they had a six-sided plan, and were made of wooden planks. But the natives did not know how to construct houses without using supporting pillars on the four corners. The deceased brother of an old man, who was still alive in 1909, saw this for the first time in Aurepik, in the house of a man from Yap, named Gamelâi; and he died on this island away from home. Since that time houses have been built in Ifaluk without any śūle. It seems that the natives have never erected any stone foundations, like the ones that are used on Aurepik, but they use the same name for them, bǟi.

ī́m is the family dwelling. It is the ordinary rectangular house with a gable roof, that slopes forward, and no special stone foundation. Drawing 155 shows the old form. There are side posts (djŭ́ne) set in the framework of the floor (gorā́š, number 1 of drawing 155), which is made of four beams, and the walls (dibā́b, no. 4) stand between them. The ceiling beams (gabilibī́n, no. 6) rest on the 4 corner-djŭ́ne, and then they

2: Damm et al. --56-58 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-2
116, 173, 342 Ifaluk

carry the purlins, (falidibā́b, no. 1 of drawing 156) into which the djŭ́ne are inserted. Girders and empty trusses (no. 2), both of which are called wṓu, are stuck part way into the purlins. Just as on Polowat and Satowal, the ridge purlin is ŭ́ri. The others (no. 3) have various names, according to whether they are attached to the empty truss or to the rafters; [58] in the first case they are kabańăk, in the other: kabílal; both are interchangeable. The rafters (no. 4) are called gāto.

The gable walls are arranged in a special fashion. A central post (wadăbā́o) stands on the gabilibiń, beneath which a âudănilālo beam is braced between the side posts. A roof (dăbā́u) projects over one gable wall; (no. 3 in drawing 155); its empty truss is called kabańăk di bīń, its rafters gā́to di bīń. This dăbā́u overshadows a veranda (bīń), which lies at the level of the purlins, and has a pot-board (fắńe di bīń) in front. A special kind of beam support is not always available for it, as on Hok; the corner posts are šū́le, the two long beams lying on them are dalíelŏb , the diagonal one is âudănilắlo. This porch was evidently devised to protect the householder from the rain, if by chance he wanted to sit in front of his door. The mats used for covering the roof are jā́so.

2; Damm et al. --79 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 173, 643 Ifaluk

A native of Yap, Mṓdj, is said to have been the first high chief; and he settled on Falalap in legendary times. Several of his children then went to Feladjik. . . . Mṓdj had two sons; the elder became the high chief, and the younger the lesser chief. The natives say that this is the origin of the great and the minor chiefs. In addition to these two important chiefs, (*tamōl solōb*), there are also two chiefs of a lower rank (*tamōl igidigit*), who also come from the chief's family, and live in Lawuāu; they are the men, who execute the commands of the chief, and give his orders to the people. Their position is reminiscent of that of the *pülepüle* and *kōkōa* of Luangiua and Nukumanu, who also belonged to the ruling families.

2: Damm et al. --79-80 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2
116, 173, 643 Ifaluk

The names of the high chiefs were:

1. Mṓdj
2. Ällofắs [80]
3. Dā́dar
4. A͡uắp
5. Ma͡iliắs
6. Moǖra͡i
7. Sorắl
8. Gŏ́rigar; he is supposed to have lived at the time of the first great typhoon.
9. Modurŏ́k
10. Jalorắk
11. Gawûrŏ́k
12. Malüdjŏ́m
13. Idălū́b; he lived at the time of the third typhoon.
14. Ärülümắn
15. Dibắdău; he lived at the time of the fourth typhoon.
16. Soligṓu
17. Gilālobắk
18. Ola͡idiū́, he lived at the time of the fifth typhoon (1907) and disappeared on the trip

2: Damm et al. --79-80 (1909) 1938 Wolcaians-2
116, 173, 643 Ifaluk

to Lamutrik.

19. Daoreligắr was head chief of the island group at the time of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition (1909); the second chief was Sairū́, lesser chiefs were Duwkliór and Älewū́dj.

Formerly Ifaluk was uninhabited. The first settlers were Mődj and his wife Filidamől, who came from Yap. Originally, they came from Kárebar. * The parents of these first inhabitants are unknown on Ifaluk.

Mődj and Filidamől did not have a canoe, so they came on a raft (fófát); they travelled over the already settled islands of Mogemog, Fais and Oleai. The natives believe, that they steered by the stars. After they landed, Mődj built a house, Ilamäi on Falalap, in the northern district, Jiwån; this is no longer standing. He dug for drinking water, and planted coconuts, bread-fruit, etc. which he had brought from Yap.

Occasionally, men and women from Oleai and Faraulip came and settled, and some Ifaluk people went to those islands to stay. The most exciting event was the arrival of some very large devils in human form. These giants were so thorny that big fish were speared on their bodies. They swam to the island, but when they did not find any food, they went peacefully away again.

Under Mődj's administration the Ifaluk natives became very warlike.

Battle with Oleai.

Mődj went to Oleai, and he liked it so much that he married a woman on this island. But the natives of Oleai did not like him. A quarrel started, and Mődj was wounded. He

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* This is probably the same as Gatśapar, which is the site of the cult of the god Yoňaläv.

fled in his canoe, and went back to Ifaluk. Here he called his followers together, they returned to Oleai, and made arrangements for a long stay on the main island. After a while the Oleai people did not have anything more to eat, and so they moved over to Râur Island. At once the Ifaluk men followed them, and there again they devoured everything. Then the Oleai inhabitants sailed to Băliaū, but once again they were molested by their enemies. The same thing occurred in Otărau and finally in Falālüs. Eventually some of the Oleai natives died of hunger, and the others were weakened. That was the moment for which Oleai had been waiting; he and his companions attacked the enemies, and killed all of them (except his wife and his son). This son became the chief of Oleai. [84]

Hambruch, in his notes about Faraulip, gives another version of a struggle between Ifaluk and Oleai. Môis * was king of Ifaluk, and a guest in Oleai. While an Oleai resident was out fishing, Môis raped his wife. He did this on numerous occasions, until the husband finally surprised him, beat him, and threw him out of the house for dead. About sunrise the rain wakened Môis. He got a piece of wood out of the bushes, and used it to swim back to Ifaluk, as he did not have a canoe. When he got home, some of

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* probably identical with Mṓdj.

his people took care of him, and after a long time he was well again. Then he went into the men's house, called all the inhabitants together, took off his apron and said: "We will sail and fight the people who live in the direction, where my organ points." His penis pointed toward Oleai. Then the men made a great many spears, took a vast number of canoes and went to Oleai; there they slew everybody, except the maidens. Later there was a

War with Lamutrik

Since there was not much to eat in Ifaluk, Mődj ordered his men to go to Lamutrik and take possession of this island. As Mődj was very old himself, he named Ällofás, his future successor, as general of the warriors. Some of the Elato natives had already perished from hunger, and the others went to Lamutrik. Ällofás followed them, and started a battle at once; he was wounded, and there were dead on both sides. Then Ällofás returned to Elato, and remained there.

Meanwhile, two months had elapsed, and the expedition had not yet come back to Ifaluk. Mődj was anxious about the fate of his soldiers, so he took a few men and went to Elato. When he found Ällofás there, he inquired why they had not slain all the Lamutrik inhabitants. Ällofás said that it was because they were too strong. Then Mődj ordered his men to make a lot of torches of coconut leaves, and once again the Ifaluk people sailed with the southwest wind to Lamutrik. They made a secret landing on the uninhabited side of the island, and then attacked the unsuspecting natives. It so happened that the wind blew the biting smoke of the torches into the eyes of the Lamutrik men, and so they could not see. They were all destroyed. Later Mŏdj sent a man and two women to Lamutrik, to settle the island again.

Later, the chief Ma͡ilias sent people from Ifaluk to colonize two islands of the Faraulip atoll, which had formerly been inhabited. They had fought each other until only one man, Uēliwa [85] was left. When Ma͡ilias heard about this, he sent a woman, Niman, so that Faraulip might be populated again. This kind of civil war was unknown on Ifaluk; the two struggles with Oleai and Lamutrik are supposed to be the only warlike developments of any significance....

2: Damm et al. --140 [5]
116, 173

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Aurupik

The history of the Eauripik Island Group is closely related to that of Yap. Miklucho-Maclay heard that Aurepik owes a large number of its inhabitants to Jap Island. This is also preserved in the legend that the Yap native Cho͡iss came to Aurepik, and then created men and women out of a spondylus shell....Accordingly we can perhaps regard Cho͡iss (Chṓs) as the first chief (damol), and if so, his son Ra͡igumeń, who is revered as a deity today, was certainly his successor. Lütke named Rooua as the ruler over Aurepik and some islands lying to the east.

2: Damm et al.--141 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 173, 167 Aurupik

The Hamburg South Sea Expedition obtained the following list of chiefs: Baluelap was the successor of Ligowúw, the husband of the first mother, then Solắń, Elluluĕ́, Mŏ́dj, Ärū̆däl(Erídal); but the natives were unable to give any more exact information about them. However the son of Ärū̆däl, Jadṓa (Jădowuắ) is remembered as a chief, because it was during his reign that a typhoon devastated the island. It did so much damage that the survivors went to Oleai to escape a famine, and they spent ten months there. When the Aurepik islanders returned home under Mańeluắ, Jadṓa remained in Oleai, where he died. His son Fagíl became chief of the people who went back home. He was succeeded by his son, Medắk, who was still ruling in 1909.

2; Damm et al, --169-170 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 173, 286 Faraulep

As on all the Caroline Islands, there is little weaving being done today; this is very unfortunate, because the women had developed their skill to an astonishing level of craftsmanship. [170] According to the native legends, there were no woven mats in olden days; and people ran around naked. Then incest occurred at rather frequent intervals, because men could not tell their sisters, children and wives apart. So the god Luguleń told Aifáth to bring men a loom, so that they might weave mats, and be able to tell themselves apart. *

Hibiscus bast and banana fibers are woven, but the latter are preferred on account of their superior quality.

"* It seems that the various clans also had certain weaving patterns."

2: Damm et al. --191 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 173, 643 Faraulep

The rank of high chief is hereditary, and it is traced back to the first settlers. The first *tamol* was on Ead, and in olden days there was one on Faraulip and on Pix. The high chief takes charge of the "big" house, orders men to start the community enterprises, keeps an eye on the soil and the fishing, acts as a judge, and watches over the peace in his village. If anyone refuses obedience, he is deprived of his field. If the high chief dies, his brothers inherit the title according to age, and it is only then that the sons of the deceased become chief. Women can never rule, and if there are no direct male successors, the male children of the high chief's family take the office.

Should the high chief be a minor, the *poirī́m* acts as regent until the child is adolescent. In case of his death, the *poirī́m* no. 2 takes his place, in case there are no sons of the first *poirī́m*. In the event of the decease of the young chief, the first *poirī́m* becomes high chief.

The lesser chiefs are the spokesmen; they transmit the commands of the high chief, and see to it that they are executed.

The large fishing expeditions are arranged, work is discussed and justice promulgated in the assemblies (*xopắi*), which take place in the "big" house.

2: Damm et al. --193-194 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-13
116, 173, 731 Faraulep

We know nothing about the history of the first settlement of this island group. We only know that the inhabitants were very warlike, that they destroyed each other in one battle after another, and that the island was resettled at a later time by natives from Ifaluk. This was during the reign of the high chief Thamolras, and so he is considered to be the first chief. This story gives some information about his epoch:

War between Faraulip and Pix

Nargetumar, who was a native of Pix, had insulted the people of Faraulip, and they threatened him dreadfully when he left their island. So when he got home, he said to his men: "Get ready! Tomorrow the Faraulip islanders will come to fight us!" Accordingly, the Pix inhabitants made spears for themselves, and the Faraulip men also got ready, but neither side had the courage to start the battle. One night the Faraulip men went fishing, and only a small group remained with the women and children in the village. Then the Pix natives made a surprise attack on them, and killed a large number of people. At dawn the canoes returned and found the massacre. Then the Pix men suddenly overwhelmed the defenseless fishermen in their boats, and only a few managed to escape in the open sea or in the thicket. The Pix islanders remained for a time on Faraulip, and then departed.

At that time a Yap native was staying on Faraulip, so the few survivors went to him, and inquired if he would be willing to help them against Pix. He agreed, and performed

2: Damm et al. --192 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 173 Faraulep

Reckoning backwards from 1909, the names of the chiefs are: Sa͡uerŭ, Gavŭs (about 1885), Parŏa, Marerŏiisa͡u, Nĕipŏl (about 1804; he is the historic Alberto), Ragetĕx, Thamolrăs.* At the time of the Hamburg South Seas Expedition, the two lesser chiefs were Ŝa͡uwul and Mā́roijam.

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* Lütke (1835, Vol. II, page 344) adds that a certain Kafalu was chief of Ifaluk and Faraulip; this man does not belong to the succession on Ifaluk or on Faraulip; but it is not impossible that he was speaking about a moriairan.

a magic spell; then a high sea (probably a typhoon) came and destroyed many houses on Pix; and many people perished too, so that only twenty were left. But the ocean wreaked havoc on Faraulip too, and all the inhabitants died save one, who had fled into the jungle. The Yap islander died shortly after his conjuration.

The one Faraulip survivor, whose name was Uĕrlipā́r, went to the reef, caught 20 omĕ́i fish in baskets, laid them in a ū́x basket, and took it to Pix. First he called for the chief. An old man crawled up to him, leaning on canes. "Here, do you want the fish? Come and get it!", said the Faraulíp man. The old chief [194] came up, and then the fisherman took him into the canoe and cracked his skull open with the fish club. Then he summoned all of the people in turn, and killed them. Finally he was alone; he did not like that, and so he went to Unaríĉi (Oleai), and got married; then he returned home to Faraulip with his wife. But upon his arrival, he found a canoe from Ifaluk; the crew had taken possession of the island, and they forbade him to land. So he went to Pix, and settled there. For this reason many of the cultural advantages that are found on Faraulip did not originate there, but came from Ifaluk.

Under the reign of chief Ragetĕ́x a great typhoon struck Faraulip, and it did an enormous amount of damage. It struck Oleai and Aurepik too, but did not do so much harm. This storm killed many people, and destroyed all the palm trees, so the natives did not have anything to eat. Fortunately a canoe appeared from Oleai, it took the survivors

2: Damm et al. --193-194 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-3
116, 173, 731 Faraulep

back to that island, and saved them from the worst period of the famine. Then when the trees and plants had started to grow again, the people returned home. Shortly after this, a second typhoon blew across the island; it tore down some huts and a few palms, but did not do any greater damage.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--245 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 173, 782, 226 Aurupik

[LEM: Concerning an isolated house and grave, Hambruch was told:] the god Yongelap gave orders to the man Choiss in Yap to travel to Aúrepik and there to create men and women out of a Spondyl shell so that the island would be populated. This was done, and Choiss became the father of a son, Raigumeng, whom Yongelap appointed as protector against typhoons. Raigumeng is revered like a god. The natives invoke him before they go fishing: "Raigumeng, give us fish!" On other occasions, e.g. before a sea voyage, offerings are made to him. Within the house many offerings were suspended: wreaths, necklaces, mats, coconuts, etc. Since Raigumeng's death his house and grave have to be kept in good condition.

4: Krämer--32 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 173 Elato

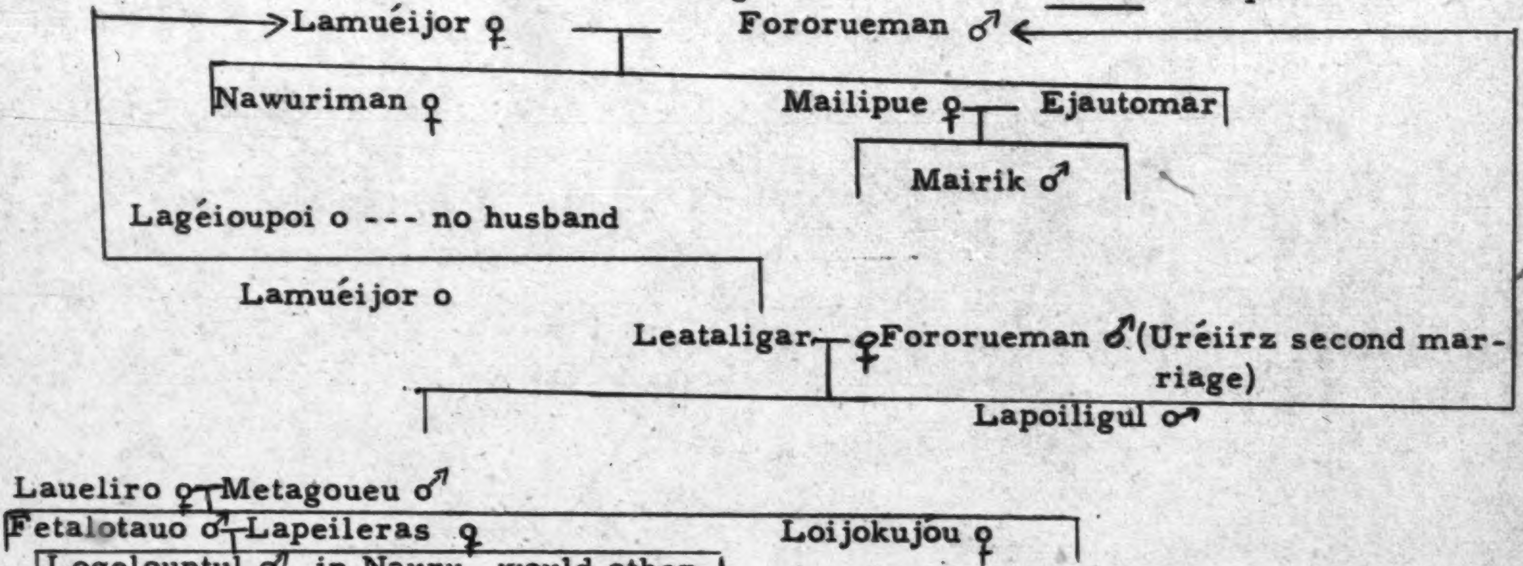
Motéijama͡u ♂ and Hawŭm ♀ were the first to come to Elato. They came from Lamutse after having produced a boy and a girl on that island and in Pig, Pikelōt, and Setūān; the two children are looked upon as the predecessors of the people on the respective islands. On Elato Lóii ♂ and Lemau ŭ răle ♀ are thought of as the original ancestors; Lóii is the 1st chief. Ifalŭk, Faroilip, etc., were not settled by the same couple.

4: Krämer--32
116, 173

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato

Genealogical Chart of the tamol Maîlipue


Lamuéijor ♀
Fororueman ♂
Nawuriman ♀
Mailipue ♀
Ejautomar
Mairik ♂
Lagéioupoi o --- no husband
Lamuéijor o
Leataligar ♀
Fororueman ♂ (Uréiirz second marriage)
Lapoiligul ♂
Laueliro ♀
Metagoueu ♂
Fetalotauo ♂
Lapeileras ♀
Loijokujou ♀

Logelouptul ♂ in Nauru, would otherwise have been tamol after the death of Maîlipue.

4: Krāmer--143 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 173, 833 Elato

On Elato, Hambruch learned the following about the origin of coitus:

In olden times the people did not know anything about coitus. Then Lūgeilēn came and saw a man and a woman, the man Temŏnemŏn and the woman Liparáre. She was very beautiful. "Well, what are you doing? Where is your husband?" "He is out fishing." "All right, go and bathe and afterwards I shall show you something pleasant." "But first I have a question to ask you. Do you like to have intercourse?" "I don't know." "Then go into the house. I shall show you something." And then he instructed the woman in sexual intercourse. The woman was very pleased about it. Lugeilĕn said good-bye to her. Being most interested in what she had just learned the woman completely forgot about her cooking. She ran down to the beach and called loudly for her husband: "Come, come, quickly! Leave the canoe and the fish. I'll show you something new!" "Whatever is the matter?" "Come, come quickly," and the man had to go into the house. The woman showed him how he was to lie down, because he did not know anything at all. When he did not have an erection, the woman took his penis in her hand and rubbed it thoroughly and then he could sleep with her. This they practiced for days and weeks until finally they had lost all their flesh. Then Lugeilĕn returned and asked the two: "What are you doing?" And they told him. "Oh, stop! You should do it only once a week, otherwise you will die." And they followed his suggestion.

4: Krämer--143-145 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-5
116, 173 Lamotrek

In Kotzebue, III, it is said that east of Mokemok no temples and sacrifices existed. But the Faletaipu allows the conclusion that a house for the worship of god was available.

In the beginning everything was dark and the sky lay over the water. In the water there was a large reef, Oledjapdjap* which became the mother of three gods, alus: [144]

Salual lived in Ilal, the lower world. (Polynesian; i lalo, below and from it also "ruler below"; cf. Muller, Yap, page 308.)
Sauaur (Hambruch Zauuor) or Souiaur**
Aluelap*** (Hambruch: Eluelap) "Great Spirit" (on Yap: Yalulop).

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*Hambruch: from ole "very old" and zapzap "earlier, begin"; Hambruch learned of this thought of the reef as the ancestral mother on Elato; cf. Ifaluk where Hambruch was working. On Faraulip one talks of the growth of a rod which the woman planted on the reef and from which Eluelap rose.

**Aur, the master of the South Sea island... See also Fus, story 2.

***Kotzebue says that the god (tautup) of Elath and Lamurrec is called Fuss. As for details on this spirit, Cantova says on page 304 that his parents were Sabucour and Halmelul (Hammelu Elalamor?...) and that his daughter Ligobund, the creatoress, had three children.

4: Krämer--143-145 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 173 Lamotrek

Saulal was the master of the ocean who provided the fish, Sauaur was the ruler of Aur and provided the breadfruit, and Aluelap was the master of the universe, the oldest and the highest, comparable to Yongelap on Yap...Eluelap's wife was Limarauarau* whose name was the same as that of the great celestial vault, Eluelap lived with his wife in the great house Fadjamal.

He had three daughters (for the fourth see Hambruch, see below)**;

1. Ligóboub
2. Lisarëré, her sister came to Makuei (not in the Carolines)
3. Ligabú (r) ale aliali who was not supposed to do anything; for that reason she was tied into a bundle and hung from the roof-tree of Fadjamal.

They also had five sons (Hambruch):

1. Zemeruch, who helps the workman with the construction of houses and canoes (Truk: sou im is the word for carpenter).
2. Zelang (Truk: Silelap is the builder of a canoe)

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*According to Cantova the woman was called Leteugieul and came from Oleai; since she only had one son, Lugeileng, he adopted the Reschahuileng of Lamotrek whose mother lived here.

**The descent from the couple is contested.

3. Zemalgoror (Truk: Semengóror)
4. Legeileng
5. Ururulang, the pusher of the clouds and the messenger of Aluelap*

Hambruch names another daughter in addition to three forElato, she is Nimegei and Müller lists her in Yap...as Nimegai, which in translation means "I alone remain"; she married Lugëléng (see Lugeileng above under no. 4); but on Feis she is given as his daughter.

In addition to the above-mentioned three--Legoupap, Legaburalialial and Lidjarere--six more female spirits were mentioned to me on Lamotrek by another informant, but their origin as daughters of Aluelap is not sure. [145]

Their names are:

5. Litáfeo, who was given the threads of life.
6. Ilĕgúio who supervises 5, and sees to it that the threads do not become confused. If she has to cut one, the owner will die.
7. Ilatiu who comes down from heaven in order to find out what is going on

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*Hambruch mentions the same three for Elato but by him Eluelap, the well-known Anulap is listed in second place while on Lamotrek he was named as the third. For Truk, 5 brothers and 5 sisters are named, and the above mentioned two brothers are lacking.

below; she takes good news up to heaven since Aluelap does not want to hear anything unpleasant.

8. Ledjóumes supports no. 7 in the good things, because nothing bad is to be reported in the house Fadjamal.
9. Legédjigedj took down the coconut. . . .
10. Aliulang, is the name for the month of gedj. . .for this reason the gedj fish (gudj?) was taboo and could not be caught and not even its name was to be pronounced for the sake of Legédjěgedj (9). Aluelang suggested that men should die and be resurrected like the gods, but Ligedjegedj thought it would be better if they died once and for all, Aluelap was in agreement with the latter idea, because them men would not be able to spy in heaven and later imitate the gods in everything. . .

This story is given in Cantova, page 305, but here Erigiregers, the evil spirit, brings death to the people who previously had not died, but merely slept from the last moon to the first new crescent. There the evil spirits are called Elus Melabut and the good ones are called Elus Melafirs. The spirit Morogrog is considered the carrier of fire.

Eluelap in the house Fadjamal always sleeps on the floor (Hambruch: nifang) and when

4: Krämer--143-145 (1909) 1937 Woleaians--5
116, 173 Lamotrek

they want to wake him they pull up his eyelids.... The sky, aidjal* is the medium for his speech; the earth is called sãlop.

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*Audjal is the messenger of the gods. On Elato: the bird, bag, tells him about all the happenings on earth, whether the people are good or bad....He lets the evil die and they go to the jaf (fire?) and stay there; but the good are admitted into the house of Fatsumān and they live in splendor with the gods.

4: Krämer--143-148 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
173 Elato

[VMM: For myths about the origin of the world, and the gods, see Lamotrek, 4: Krämer 143-148].

4: Krämer--144 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
173 Elato

Hambruch learned the following on Elato: The god Aur lives on an island in the south where only breadfruit grows. From there he has brought the fruit to the people. The quality of the fruit and the harvest depend on his mood. If he is dissatisfied with the people, the trees do not bear fruit.

4: Krämer--145 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 173 Lamotrek

On Lámotrek I heard another myth. . . . When the sky was above. . . a man by the name of Pelialu sat on a tree in Sätoal aitũ (Sätoaleirek, called after the sea, veirek; Sätoal aitũ named after the island of Tā on Satoan (Volume 6, I, page 22); cf, also Dõ the southern island of Pollap, etc. The word Sätoval is said to be derived from sät, ocean and oál, bush; one said for instance in the bush: lèval, there , nival, here and began to catch gurugak=sea swallows. When he had caught one, it suddenly revealed itself as a spirit (alu) and pulled the man up to heaven with its net. Thus he came to Fadjumal and there noticed all the spirits of illnesses coming towards him with the intention of destroying him. For the guards of the path, Ileitiu and Lidjómas, had already announced his coming. In the house there was a bag hanging down from the roof tree. Ligabur ale aliali, who had power over all on earth, was in the house. And when the illnesses were about to fall over the man, she ordered the bird to seize him by his hair and to take him back down to earth. In this manner they learned in heaven of the presence of man on earth through Pelialu. For that reason, Pelialu is looked upon as a helpful alu. The word olsóbōl, "to protect, aid," with the final syllable bōl apparently has the same stem as Peli.)

4: Krämer--145-148 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-8
116, 173 Elato

On Elato the creation is represented in this manner: Olezapzap, the ancestral mother of the gods...planted a stick in the middle of the universe and it grew into a tree* and reached heaven itself, [146] which at that time was still located fairly close above the earth. And she told her son Eluelap and his daughter Ligoboub to take some sand and to form the earth. They picked up coconut shells, filled them with sand, climbed up the tree, and formed the earth. Eluelap climbed even higher than to the top of the tree and lifted the heaven, lang, and spread it out over the tree and above it he formed the vault of the great blue firmament, limarauarau. He brought the sky to its present place, ueneng. (God Fus "Star"...)

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* Probably a coconut palm, but one without fruit.... This is the creation of Elato (Hambruch): In olden times there was a stone from which grew a tree, ülelü, a fern with big leaves. That was the very beginning of the world. A bird, garĕgar, came and let its excrement fall on the stone; and in it was a drop of blood and from it originated the woman Legobu (see above...Ligoboub); she soon gave birth to two children, a girl Loi i falu and a boy Loi u pi; their names in translation mean "great place" and great sand." Loi i falu gathered the material from which the islands are made and Loi u pi helped his sister. Both of them were spirits, but their children were human beings. One daughter was Ligabu e aliali and it may be written in another manner: li= woman, malabus, dumb, and ali ali to fly (=the dumb fly to and fro); she completed the island which the others had begun. She did not want to do anything but sleep, drink, dream, and wish; thus she wished that the places she had made would be inhabited by human beings. She cut her hand until blood flowed forth and formed people, men and women. These people were distributed over the island....

On lamotrek the story of the creation continues:

Thus Eluelap is the creator and has a daughter Leboupboup (Liboubup) or Legoupup who gave birth to Legaburs al le alual*)the flyer, see above sister no. 3. When she came

*Previously she was mentioned as the sister of Legoupup; upon order of Aluelap she made the earth and later on sent his messenger Eidjal (see above, aidjal, the celestial vault as the means of his speech) as a wind in order that he might enter into the nose of Ligoubub. Eidjal did as he was told and penetrated as far as her stomach where he established himself as breath and the being of Aluelap; and Ligoubub became pregnant and gave birth to two children, a boy and a girl. Eidjal then returned to heaven to bring the news to Aluelap. And Aluelap sent him back down to name the children, the boy Tipalalailog or Tip for short (from tipei, "my will, thought") and the girl Ilalaailog or Il for short (=deliberate, not unjust), and the two children became the cause of good thoughts everywhere...

down from heaven she could not find land anywhere. Therefore she had to fly around for some time and to gather sand and stones and she made the first firm ground. And with one hand full of sand she created all the other islands. Thereafter she made the plants and animals and the birds in the air and everything else. But there was no one around to admire her work. And she cut the tip of the finger of her right hand* and she let the blood drip down on the ground. And soon a woman was formed and a man and they were names Yat and Yol; and they lived together and had many children.

Yat and Yol...among others had the following children; three girls:

1. Lataaisean
2. Lemaugarertra
3. Elamalor, a name which sometimes sounded like Elamalaur (Hambruch for Elato mentions Ilamelul, Ilamulul story 1).

And they had a son, Oralvers. [147]

All of them lived carefree lives and did not know death. Legaburs al le alual even took them out to the ocean over which they could run. But the other spirits became jealous and angry and Ligoubub returned to heaven and left the people to take care of themselves. And they became subject to hunger, illness and death.

Aluelap had another reason for separating heaven and earth; he did not want the people to learn too much. For Lisarërë had taught the women to work and especially had

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*On Truk...this was the method Aluelap used to create Ligoubub.

4: Krämer--145-148 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-4
116, 173 Elato

familiarized them with the art of weaving through her daughter, the spider Líkesoburára whose web served as an example. In addition plaiting, and the manufacture of textiles, was shown to the women on earth.

The third sister Ligabut ale aliali did not do anything, but she sent the spirit of jealousy to dwell among the people. She flew about without purpose and was lazy.

One day Lugeileng* the son of Elaulap (above no. 4) came down to earth from heaven and he saw a leper. He felt such pity with the man and his deformation that he exchanged his skin for that of the sick man and he gave him everything except his gums. Lugeileng came to Yol with his diseased skin but the women in this house did not want to give any food to the sick man until the daughter Elamalor took pity and handed him food and water. This pleased Lugeileng. He came to like her so much that he took her along with him after he had changed into a handsome young man.

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*On Truk he is the son of Anulap (no. 4 above) who adopted him according to story 1, and the same is told for the island of Ku. Hambruch, in another place wrote that his father was Mezelang e gotu. . . and that Eluelap had adopted him and had come to love him dearly; see story 1. --According to Cantova, page 306, Lugeileng had a celestial wife, who gave birth to two sons, Carrer and Meliliau; the other was a mortal woman from Falalu, and she gave birth to Olefat.

It was Elamalor who bore him a son, the well-known Olifat.*

The native Urupo said in this connection that Elamalaur had been sent by Lugeileng to fetch a shell; when she brought it back he took it and with it cut her skull and Olifat jumped out (the same happening is related in story 1). Olifat was able to run about immediately after his birth and he himself removed all signs of his recent birth from his body. He looked up and when he saw his father Lugeileng in heaven he ascended on him. One day Olifat observed some children in heaven playing with a shark, and they had tied the shark to a line and let him swim about. Olifat said to the children: "Give me the line and let me play for a little while." But they all refused him, with the exception of one of the children, who indeed was the one to be spared the bites of the shark.

Other children played with the marafas fish, which they also had tied to a line. Once more Olifat wanted to join in their play, but all except one refused to let him, and the child was the only one whose arm was not cut by the fish. [148]

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*On Fanany it was a native woman, Tarisso, who was named as the mother. Much has been written about Olifat including the early reports of Freycinet. . . . According to the Nautical Magazine of 1866 there were three sons in the family: Alutap, Lungalen, and the giver of food. . . Olofat.

Another group of children was playing with toy canoes and when Olifat wanted to join them he experienced the same attitude as in the preceding cases; the one child that was in favor of letting Olifat join in the fun was the one to keep his canoe, while all the others drifted away. Finally Olifat observed some men cutting coconut fronds to cover some huts. He felt the desire to do his share in the work, but none of the men would give him a knife; finally one agreed to let him take his. Olefat returned it to him after use, whereas all the other men lost their knives. In addition the man who had shown interest in Olifat was the only one able to climb down from the top of the tree, for all the others were struck up high and could not return to the ground. When the unhappy men lamented their fate Olifat took pity on them and he ordered Kalung (?Kulung. . .) to free them. But their unfriendliness did not remain without consequences. When the inhabitants of heaven distributed large quantities of coconuts as reward for the cutting of fronds, Olifat was not given anything because they did not know him; no one knew him except his father Lugeileng. And because they did not know him they made fun of him and laughed at him and when they were building a house and were digging holes for the supports they pushed him into one of these holes and drove a post in after him, because they wanted to kill him. But Olifat quickly changed into an ant and climbed up; he changed back to his

4: Krämer--145-148 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-7
116, 173 Elato

human figure and he sat down on one of the beams of the framework of the house. And the men recognized him. When Aluelap called him he went up to him and complained about the behavior of the men. And Olifat changed once more and he became air. The sister of Lugeileng (Lisarere) became pregnant and she bore a coconut, which was placed in front of the house Fadjamal. During a single night a palm tree grew from this nut and it began to show fruit which increased in number at an amazing rate. But Aluelap made the fruit taboo because they had descended from the sister of Lugeileng. When one of his brothers stole a nut, Lugeileng became angry and chased him out of heaven because he wanted to eat the eye of the gods* He came to Gadjau and went mad and tried to kill all the people whom Ligoubub had created by order of Aluelap.... He felled four palm trees and cut them up to make spears from their wood. But the chief observed everything from the great house and recognized his tricks. He put all his people on gabeibei, driftwood, and let it drift out to the open sea; and thus they reached Truk and later Poloat, etc.

It was this discord among the brothers that brought war into the world and especially

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*See the story of the coconut eye. Taro, too, came to earth by theft; a spirit stole a tuber in heaven and ran away with it, but he fell and broke through the floor of heaven and dropped down to earth. He died from this serious fall but the taro fell into the swamp and grew.

4: Krämer--145-148 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-8
116, 173 Elato

to the volcanic islands where there is so much hostility. Lamotrek believes that he is descended from Gadjau.

4: Krämer--148-149 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 173 Elato

On Elato one tells that Olifat introduced the fire, iaf, to the people and taught them how to cook. [149]

Concerning Lugeileng (cf. Ugélianged, the same word on Palau) it is to be reported from Elato that he is looked upon as the bringer of the canoe. His workmaster is Zelang ...who is thought of as the patron of the carpenters but who is not given recognition in heaven. Alúelap himself instructed him in all the details of canoe construction. The boat ends, the forked tail figurehead for that reason, are also called mónu (Hambruch) ...In connection with the construction of canoes the boat builder was mentioned.

4: Krämer--149-150 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 776, 173 Elato

Hambruch was told on Elato that the following are children of Paliulăp and Ilisagŏrŭ:

Farouâi (a boy)	he controls the weather and gives out warnings in case of bad weather
Alului (a boy)	see below
Rongerik (a boy)	he guides the canoes back home; see Pollap
Xaligi (a boy)	he takes care of the canoes and their construction on land
Rongelap (a boy)	he takes the canoes out to the open seas; [150]
Zemal (a girl)	
Mangear (a girl)	she is in charge of the food and sees to it that the dishes prepared for the drew of a canoe turn out well
Ilegafaz (a girl)	she takes care of the fire on board

It is said of Alulei* that under the name of Aluelap he is the navigator; on Pollap too he is the expert on canoes. In Muller 313 he is called Paloolop, or his father is known by that name. It is really of no importance whether Alului is the son of Paluelap or is Paluelap himself, because in navigation they are identical. He is best known as the god of the oracles.** Thus he is thought of as the god of navigation and has four eyes, two in

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* On Oleai the word equals alu levei the spirit of the voyage...

**inopui or boe

45 Krämer--149-150 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 776, 173 Elato

front and two in back. . . Hambruch learned on Elato that Alului went out with the canoes on its voyages and safely guided it. His place, parang, is on the outrigger of every boat on which coconuts, begi, aromatic plants, etc. are placed before the start of any voyage. If the sea carries away the sacrificial offering, Alului is said to have called for them. He has a wife. His son is called Falus and he helps his father.

Lugeileng is also looked upon as the messenger of Aluelap. Hambruch learned on Elato that Lugeleng visited all islands and reported to Eluelap about their condition, about the inhabitants and their character, their-behavior and their work; if they are industrious he helps them, but if they are lazy he sends them a typhoon. Zaulalu assists him in this work. Every day a report is made. Lugeleng gave the islanders the dance, and song, and medicine.

4: Krämer--279-280 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-4
116, 173 Woleai

Some records of 100 years ago are still available and are discussed below. The following ought to be mentioned here: Aluelap lived in the house called Fatsomal (sharp "ts") in heaven; the good souls, *ngol*, go there, whereas the bad are sent to the *im aliáf** the "house of fire." Temples and sacrifices are not known (see Kotzebue, *Entdeckungsreise* . . . Vol. III., page 129). Aluelap, the *alus ecelap*** is credited with the creation of Oleai. Down below in the depth known as *i lăl* he spoke to his brother Saulal: "Make a reef come up. Make some large and some small." And he also told him to make the ocean and the fish. Saulal is the god of the sea in the shape of a siren, with a human body and a fish tail.

Límagei is the mother of both. Litóbeo, their sister, sat above in heaven and tore the threads of life of the humans so that they had to die. These threads*** extended from heaven down to earth to the people who breathed through them. Their life did not stop until Litóbeo cut their thread.

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*Unknown on Lamotrek.

**Kotzebue, page 128: the god (tautup) of Ulea is called Engalap; Eóngelap is the spirit of Volea.

****melovai*, my thread of life; *eŏli mélovas*, our threads of life.

4: Krämer--279-280　　(1909) 1937　　Woleaians-2
116, 173　　Woleai

Alúelap married Ilámalun. Their children were Lúgeileng* (= lúgelleng) and Simē̈legóror who made all things, the sun, the moon, the stars, canoes, houses, wooden bowls, tattoos, etc. His name is said to mean "all things" but Simë is probably to be explained as simes "death" as can be seen below in connection with Simē̈legē̈reger.

Ligereger was a quarrelsome goddess of unknown origin. At one time she had an argument with the moon and she called to him:

simē̈ Ligéreger,	simē̈ serē̈l!	
dead Ligereger	dead thou!	(simes, dead)

i. e., when I die everyone shall die!

The moon replied: it is better if it is the way it is with me.
The young moon (ē̈lúelang) is the youth,
and the waning moon (tógovei) old age! [280]

Lúgeileng, the oldest son of Aluelap came to Veisalop** and married a woman

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*According to Kotzebue, Vol. III, page 129: His mother is Leteugieul from Ulea; page 56: God, tautup, the same term that is used on Yap. The invocation on the occasion of sacrifices was wareganam gure tautup. People, tautup.
**from sólop, earth.

of whose origin nothing was known.* She bore Olefat. Lugeileng had gone away for some time but he returned when she was still pregnant. She was very big but could not give birth. Lugeileng told this to his father Aluelap and the latter sent him back to Veisalop with the suggestion that he place a bellik shell on her head when she felt pains and was frightened. He did as he was told, and suddenly Olefat rose from the head of the woman. The baby cried a great deal. When his mother worried what might be the matter with him, he said: Give me a coconut. His mother immediately went and fetched one and wanted to crack it. But the child said that all he needed was a hole in it. When his mother had made a hole in it, Olefat sucked at it and, bending his head back to do so, he noticed his father Lugeileng in heaven. Then Olifat told his mother to light a fire and when smoke rose from it he got into the cloud and went up to heaven on it. Thus he came to Lugeileng. Olifat was evil; he was never satisfied and changed his appearance continuously. At one time he came with a swollen leg, then with an inflamed testicle, sometimes tattooed and sometimes handsome and sometimes ugly but never changing.

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* Kotzebue, Vol. III, page 129: Lugeleng had two wives, one in heaven and one on earth, Hamulul and Tarisso (Elamalor, page 146 and Tarisso page 147). The latter was unequalled for bearty and other gifts; she gave birth to Olifat. Cantova earlier wrote that Tarisso came from Falalu (Fananu).

4: Krämer--279-280 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-4
116, 173 Woleai

Whatever he had just taken on, he threw off very quickly.

He went to Mores in Melanesia, and it is said that there he devoured some human beings.

Finally Olefat was killed in a strange place. When Lugeileng brought this news to Aluelap the latter said: "Let everything come up that is of any value; I shall destroy the place." As a punishment he dispatched flies, mosquitoes, sharks, etc.

4: Krämer--281-284 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1
116, 173 Woleai

The origin [VMM: of the three gods of the Carolines] is explained in the following manner: since eternity there existed a goddess Ligopoup, the creatoress of the universe. She made Aluelap* the inventor of the sciences. His son is Lugeileng** whose mother is unknown (Ilamalun). He had two wives, the divine Ilamoulong (Ilamalun), and the mortal Tariso who was of a rare beauty (the same is said by Kotzebue, page 129, and also the following is presented there); she gave birth to Olefat four days after the beginning of pregnancy. The child was completely covered with blood, bit off his umbilical cord and started walking immediately after he was born; but he would not allow anyone to touch him and when someone wanted to help him to get cleaned up he said that he would take care of himself. He rubbed his body against coconut trees and that is the reason why they are often so red. When his mother gave him a young coconut to drink, and he bent his head back and looked up he noticed his father Lugeileng, [282] and he addressed him right away. And immediately he and his mother climbed up to heaven. When Olifat entered heaven, he came upon children who were playing with a shark which they had tied by its tail.* The fish pretended to be paralyzed in order that he might remain unnoticed and for that reason the children were afraid of it.** Olefat wanted the fish but none of the children would let him have it, with the exception of the boy who was holding the line. He gave the line to the stranger and thus Olefat could play with the animal. After some time, he returned the line to the boy and told him not to be afraid in case the fish should become wild, for he would not do him any harm. Olefat made magic as a punishment for the other children who had refused his request. And the shark suddenly got big teeth and he bit the unobliging children.

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*The same in Kotzebue, Vol III, page 129: according to Cantova (Freycinet, page 115 Eliulup) he is the son of Sabukur and Hamelul and his sister is Ligobuud. Eliulup married Letöhiöl of Guliai and they had a son Lugheileng, whose name has the meaning of "center of heaven;" then he adopted Reschahuileng (Krämer: who is he?) a youth from Lamotrek. Ligobuud had three children.

**Lugeileng had two wives (according to Cantova) a divine one who gave birth to Karrer and Meliliau; the other came from Falalu. The reference is to Tarisso.

And Olefat thus punished all those who did not give in to his wishes and they were many in number since they did not know the god.*** Once he asked the workmen engaged in the construction of a house for a knife with which to cut the coconut fronds that were to be used to cover the roof. Only one of the men listened to his request, and all the others were transformed into statues.

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* In Kotzebue we find the statement that they were afraid of him and did not touch him because they thought him leprous.

**Kotzebue, Vol. III, page 130: "in order to remain unrecognized it pretended to be leprous. The children thus kept away and did not touch it."

***Kotzebue adds here: "Since no one knew him, and he had not yet come to his father who was the only individual who recognized him, they threatened his life."

Lugeileng and Aluelap knew that Olefat had gone to heaven. When they learned of the transformation of the workmen, they asked the man who had been spared this fate whether he had met anyone. His reply was that he had not met anyone but a kandoura bird (and that was the shape Olefat had assumed). They told him to call the bird. But the bird was frightened by the voice and escaped. Lugeileng told the workman to call once more, but without saying that the bird should come to him as he had done before. As a matter of fact he was to order the bird to stay away because its presence would be most unwelcome to the chiefs. The man obeyed the order and forbade the kandoura to enter the house and to occupy the place of the more important people. But the kandoura acted counter to the command. When the kandoura had come, Lugeileng called all the metamorphosed people. They all came much to the surprise of all those present. For only Aluelap and Lugeileng knew that the child was Olefat.

The construction of the house was continued. When holes were to be dug for wall posts, Olefat took this task upon himself. This pleased the other men greatly because they hoped that that would give them a chance to kill him in revenge for what he had done to them and for fear of what he might think up for the future. But olefat guessed their intentions [283] and supplied himself with red earth and with coal and coconut leaf ribs, which he hid carefully. Then he dug the holes but he included niches in order that he would be able to hide. When he had finished his work, he announced it. And the men took one of the posts and dropped it on him and filled the pit with sand and believed they had suffocated Olefat. But Olefat escaped into the niche at the side, and chewed the red earth, and threw it out. His murderers thought that what they saw was his blood. And when they observed the coal which was chewed in the same careful manner, they thought that it was gall and jumped to the conclusion that their victim was dead. In the meantime Olefat was busy drilling a passage through the post with the rib of his coconut leaf. And he climbed up through this channel and sat down on top without being noticed. It is since this time that the trees have hearts. (This sentence is omitted by Kotzebue).

When the work was completed, the workmen got together to eat. Olefat asked an ant* to pick up a little piece of coconut for him. The ant did what it could. Olefat with his divine powers, changed this very tiny piece into a whole nut and spoke loudly: "Look, I shall crack my coconut." At these words the men turned and were surprised at the fact that they had not killed the speaker. Now they realized that he was an alu (Kotzebue: alus) Thus they abandoned their murderous scheme and told him to take food to Thunder. Olefat happily walked off, but as a precaution he took a stick with him. When he entered the house of Thunder he said: "Stop, I am tired from carrying food for your crooked mouth!" Thereupon the thunder was about to fall over him but Olefat slipped into his bamboo stick and thus saved himself.* Thus he executed his order without harm to himself which greatly surprised his companions. They sent him out once more with fish food of the *botete de espinas*** as the Spaniards call it. Olefat left once more armed with nothing but a shell. When he entered the house of the fish, the latter held the door and wanted to prevent him from going out. But when night fell, he placed the shell on the upper jaw of the fish and walked over him. That is the reason why this fish has an indention in that part of the body.

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*In Kubary, the ant has another task, and not that of bringing food.

Finally he was given food for the long-mouthed fish, which was called *fela*. When Olefat did not find him at home he handed the food to those who happened to be around and left. They told it to the *fela* when he returned and asked who had brought him the food; but the others did not know him. Then he took a hook on a long line and [284] threw it in all directions. Thus he caught Olefat in the north and managed to kill him.

When Olefat did not return the workmen celebrated. But Lugeileng went to search for his son and when he found him lifeless and full of worms, he woke him and asked him who had killed him. Olefat answered that he was not actually dead but merely asleep.

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*Kotzebue adds here: "The Thunder could not find him and thus stopped pursuing him."

** *bote*, blow; *espina*, sting; probably the synanceia which had an indention for the stings. The ray is called *raya*; this is omitted in Kotzebue.

4: Krämer--281-284 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-6
116, 173 Woleai

Lugeileng called the fela fish before him and with a stick beat its upper jaw. That is the explanation why the upper jaws are shorter than the lower ones. Thus the three gods brought justice into the lives of the people.

11: Born--176 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 621, 173 Woleai

All the natives have their houses along the coast, on that side of the islands which faces the inner lagoon. There are no visible boundaries, although there are separate communities. There are about three or four villages, each with its own chieftain, on each island. There is no head chief within the atoll, not even a "first among equals". The actual head chief is the chieftain Follebu, or rather his father Bugolrau, in Gatschbar on Jap.

There are several legends concerning the origin of this political dependence on Jap. One of the most common variants is the following: Once a woman from Oleaï lost her course and was stranded at Gatschbar. She was received hospitably, and, when the winds changed, some people from Jap provided her with the necessary supplies and took her safely to her native island. The peaceful people of Oleaï recognized their superiors in these armed, warlike men who had saved the woman, and accepted them as their masters. The consciousness of their dependence is deeply ingrained in the natives of Oleaï. They believe that if they should secede from Jap and break faith with their head chief, a huge tidal wave would wash away their island.

14: Born et al--570 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 132, 173 Woleai

As to the question of the cause of this horrible catastrophe [MR: typhoon, March 1907] I should like to impart some observations which I made after the typhoon, but without the intention of drawing conclusions from them. It seems to me that it is not out of the question that volcanic, undersea eruptions had something to do with it. During the typhoon at 10 in the morning earthquakes could be felt; many pumice stones were washed ashore, which competent people said were lava. The whole atoll seemed even to the natives to have lifted since the high water mark had receded considerably. A new island emerged between Falalis and Motogosu, where, to be sure, there had already been a reef. This island is called Met and is supposed to have been inhabited long ago in the dim past. The native legend relates that a tidal wave washed it away in those days. Between the islands of Paliau and Oleai there used to be only a small passage, which was almost dry at low tide. Now, after the typhoon, this passage is very considerably widened and deepened. The reef bank between these two islands was cracked like a marble slab thrown on the floor; great pieces were split out of it. The ground on the islands of Paliau and Raur also looked as if shattered. On the outer reef of Raur, where the tidal wave had broken over it, there were three longish piles of coral rubble like little lonely islands. The outer reef side of the same two islands, formerly grown with thick bush, was a flat surface strewn with coral gravel, smooth and even as a table, where it had been exposed to the tidal wave. The direction of the tidal wave was presumably from east-northeast to west-southwest; its height cannot be given with certainty.

28: Spiro--11 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 631, 173, 618 Ifalik

"Though subservient to Gagil, Ifaluk enjoys a position of high prestige vis a vis the other small islands in the Yap district, for, aside from Mogmog, it occupies the highest rung on the political ladder, and it is one they are very jealous of. Again, two variant traditions account for this high position. Ifaluk has great prestige, the chiefs informed me, because of its seniority in creation. On the other hand, Dr. Burrows collected some legends which purport to explain Ifaluk's ascendancey, and which parallel the reason for Yap's ascendance over Ifaluk. These legends tell of Ifaluk having had wars with the outlying islands, each war for a different cause, in the course of which Ifaluk took the the occasion to massacre the entire populations of the various islands, and a man and woman from each clan were chosen to settle on the depopulated islands. As a result the population and culture of the islands are derived from Ifaluk, so that Ifaluk is the mother country to the other islands.

The historicity of these stories, obviously, can not be validated. It is true, however, that the peoples on the various islands speak identical languages, and, as far as we could check, have quite similar, if not identical, cultures. Particularly important is the identity of social organization, so that the same clans are found on all the islands, and inter-island marriage, which is not infrequent, is governed by the same clan exogamy as intra-island."

114 of the wooden packing boxes were converted into sets of shelves. The
123 cases of food were piled along the sides in the back part of the house, which became the kitchen area, cozily walled with cartons of sliced peaches and spam.

778 353 There was an altar in the back part of the Fan Nap that was a constant mental hazard because we did not want to offend the local people by desecrating this shrine with profane objects. The altar was a ramshackle affair, contrasting strongly with the usual Ifalukian workmanship, and this may have indicated that it was not taken very seriously; but we wanted to run no risk of giving offense. There was a large chest there, too, which we judged to be a sort of depository for the appurtenances of government. Among other things, the American flag was stored in the chest, to be hauled out and attached to a pole on the lagoon shore when a ship was sighted.

831 778 There was another sacred touch to the Fan Nap—a phallus attached
to the main front center post and pointing out across the lagoon. The
phallus, which pointed westward toward Woleai, the nearest neighboring atoll, commemorated an event of Ifaluk legend—or history. The
story was one of violence and conquest and seemed curiously anomalous
in the Ifalukian folklore, contrasting as it did with the present com-
[181] pletely non-aggressive and peaceful character of the people. Ted
thought that it might reflect memories of an actual conquest by the
people of Ifaluk of earlier inhabitants of the neighboring atolls. Maur,
[173] the main character in the legend, was certainly the "culture hero" of
the people of the island.

The phallus did not seem to be the object of any special veneration or cult—it was just there. Once, later in the summer, when we were trying to explain the money system of the United States, we were questioned about the portrait heads on the coins. Don explained Washington and Lincoln as long-dead "chiefs" thus commemorated.

[769] Yani got the idea at once. "Ifaluk have picture of dead chief, too," he said, grinning, as he pointed toward the phallus of Maur on the Fan Nap.

132 The weather continued to interfere with the starting of field work. Friday it rained almost continuously all day—and of course the rain